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PHONETIC AND LEXICAL NOTES

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1. INDO-IRANIAN TREATMENT OF IE. *k*'S.

1. In Avestan, interior and final *k*'s yielded *š*, through an intermediate stage which we may transcribe by *k*'s or *ss*. In behalf of the second transcription I note *-ikš-* from *iss* in Skr. *dvikṣat* (he hated), and *-it* in *edhamāna-dvīt*.

REMARK. It is not necessary, however, to invoke the analogy of Sk. *-ks- < -ss-* to support the contention that IE *k*'s (Indo-Iran. *ss*) yielded interior *ks* but final *t*.—I see no cogent reason for accepting the theory (see Wackernagel *Ai. Gram.* § 118; 97a) that *dveksi* (thou hatest) has analogical *ks*. The *s* of IE *esi* (thou art) = Sk. *ási* (A) may be an earlier treatment of *-ss-* than the *ss* of *śrōti* (*śrōti*), Plautine *ess*, Armen. *es*; (B), see Brugmann, *Gr.* 1, p. 725, Anm. It must be remembered, however, that unemphatic *esi* yields no reliable proof for the usual treatment of *-ss-*. Sk. *jósi* may fall under A, *dveksi* under B. In view of the small number of locative infinitives like *buḍh-i* in Sanskrit (see Macdonell's *Ed. Gram.* § 588), more heavily grade i *jóṣ-i* (imperative from infinitive, type of Lat. *es-se*) is not to be excluded from the *buḍh-i* class; cf. like variations in gradation in dative root infinitives (see Bartholomae, *Gr. Iran. Phil.* 1. § 258. 1). And who shall decide whether *śrōsi* (hear thou) is from *śru* or from *śrus*? That gen. *us-ás* (*Aurorae*) comes from *us-s*, reduced from IE *us-es-*, rather than directly from *us* (cf. *vy-ús-i*, at dawn), is quite incredible.

2. In Sanskrit, the rules are much more complicated: (1) Interior *k*'s > *ss* > *kṣ* (*ávikṣmahi*, like *dvikṣat*); (2) final *k*'s normally yielded *-ss*, whence *-t* (*vit*, settlement, like *edhamāna-dvīt*); (3) but after *r r*, as in *dṛk spīk úrk*, yielded *-k*; (4) and so after dentals, by dissimilation, as in *dīk rtvīk* (cf. *Class. Quart.* 8. 53, noting also *-dhṛk* for *-dhṛt*). (5) After *ṇ* and *ś*, as in *bhiṣák* and *prá-ṇak* (but *naṭ d-naṭ*), the product was also *-k*. (6) We find *t* and *t* after *ṣṭh* in Prākritic *paṣṭhavāt* (cf. on nom. *anadvāṇ* § 4).

3. The nom. *purodāś* (fore-offering) contains *dō-* (gift), or perhaps an *s* stem, **dās*; but its lingual *ḍ* testifies to an early metaplastic nominative *-dāṭ* (*ḍ* by progressive assimilation). The accusative *puro-dāśam* (fore-honor) is metaplastic (: *dāś*,

* Died Feb. 17, 1920. He had revised proof on pp. 81-102 before his death.

acclaims). Likewise *avayās* (propitiatory offering) belongs to the root *yā*; see Whitney's note on AV. 2. 35. 1, and cf. *avayānam* (propitiation). Vedic *an-ák* (eyeless) has IE. *kʷ*.

2. THE PHONETICS OF SKR. *anadúd-bhyas*.

4. The problem is to trace the phonetic development of the Proto-Indo-Iranian weak stem *anas-ug¹h-*. This I do briefly as follows: by exterior euphony the compound *anas-ug¹h-* yielded *anaz-užh-*, whence by assimilation *anaž-užh-* and next, with continued assimilation, ablv. **anad-ud-bhyas*, loc. **anaduṭsu*, subsequently dissimilated to *anadúd-bhyas* etc. The proper nominative, still reckoning with the accomplished dissimilation, would have been **anadvát*, voc. **ánadrvat*, with euphonic forms in *-vān* before initial nasals. To the generalisation of these euphonic forms the synonymous vocatives of *víṣan* and *úkṣan* (bull) would have contributed, though Whitney's metaplastic stem *anadvánt* (possessing a wagon) is not inadmissible.—Uhlenbeck's prius *anard-* is bare assumption; and the Indra epithet *ānarviś-* in RV. 1. 121. 7 might mean, as Ludwig realizes in his note, a thousand other things than *car-borne* (pace Johannson in BB 18. 17). Perhaps the epithet is a *baluvrihi*, with shifted (? ultimately vocative) accent, from haploglottic *anar[vá]-viś-* (having a limitless dwelling, dwelling in infinity).

3. CRITIQUE OF JAOS 38. 206-207.

5. Professor Edgerton has made a just, if somewhat harsh, criticism of Uhlenbeck's 'etymology' of Skr. *lāti* (takes). He has also found for *ādeśa* the sense of *salutation*. Against his derivation of these words from a Hindi dialect I have reservations; nor can I believe that, in noting Hindi *lena*, the lexicon of Monier Williams intended to represent *lena* as the source of *lāti*, but rather to say that *lāti* and *lena* derived from a common Prākritic source.

6. As for the verb *lāti*, Fröhde correctly placed it long ago (BB 20. 212) with the sept of Greek *λάτρον* (wage). But Fröhde's definition was defective. As it is reflected, after Walde, in Boissacq (s. v. *λάτρον*), *lēi* (noun and verb) meant 'possession, to accord to one'; in the middle, 'to acquire, gain.' We come out better with the one definition of *to take*. [Giving is a reciprocal act. For the receiver it is a taking (cf. Eng. *takings* = money

taken in business, receipts).] In Homer (see the passages in Fröhde's article), ἀλήσος means 'without one's takings,—a due share in'; λάτρον is the share of the earner, and Lat. *latro* has come clearly back to 'taker.' The IE. root (*s*)*lēi* (? enlargement of *sel* in ἐλεῖν) appears as *slə*, expanded by various determinatives in ἔ-λλαβε (λήψεται) and λάζεται. Skr. *rābhate* preserves a trace of the original diphthong in pf. *rebhe* (see *AJP* 39. 293) and *i* is also revealed in *-ripsyu* (cited by Whitney); cf. (with *i*) λαψηρός (rapidus). Between *lātvā* (with) and λαβών a close parallel obtains. Was Lat. *lētum* originally a *taking off*?

7. As regards *ādeśa* in the sense of *salutation* (cf. Eng. *bid* = invitation and 'I bid you goodday'), I am even further from being convinced. In the context it seems not unlikely that *ādeśam dattvā* etc., introducing the interview of a great king with a sage, meant merely 'the king having given a signal <to proceed> was saluted by the sage'; and note in the lexica that *ā + diś* is defined by *nominare* (benennen). Granting the definition, however, this sense may have been suggested for *ādeśa* to any user of the cry of greeting (? or salutation at departure), *diṣṭyā*; cf. *diṣṭi-vrddhi* (congratulation).—In regard to the formula of etiquette *diṣṭyā vardhase*, I hesitate between the standard interpretation as *salute augeris* and a more archaic *salute appellaris* (*vardhase* : Lat. *verbum*). The salutation *diṣṭyā* (*salve*; lit. with homage) is to be derived from *dāśnōti* (does homage).

8. Likewise *ādeśa*, if it means *greeting*, may belong by honest descent to the sept of *dāśnōti*, for I take it that, given a colloquial survival of Sanskrit, a word (*lāti*) or, in a formula (*ādeśam dattvā*), a definition of most archaic nature may emerge as late classical Sanskrit, or even in a restricted dialect, that of the Southern recension of Professor Edgerton's text. In point of derivation *ādeśa* may belong, like *diṣṭyā*, to a very interesting group. The original root was *dē(i)k¹*, with long interior diphthong; and the cognates exhibit a rather rich vowel gradation, e. g. *dāśati* (acclaims, does homage, greets, offers, consecrates); *dīkṣā*, consecration (this is, to the best of my knowledge, a new derivation); *ādeśa* (? salutation). There is also in RV. 6. 56. 1 the reduplicated stem *dīdeś-*:

या एनां अदीदेशति कराम्भाद् इति पूसानाम् । ना तेना देवा अदीशः
qui hunc salutat 'Pultiphagus' nomine Pushanem । non ei deus
salutando <est>.

In Homer the root *dēik¹* is of social rather than sacral import: *δείκνυται* (salutes, welcomes, pledges with a cup); and in the same sense *δεικανόντο δειδίσκετο* (: *δεδισκόμενος*). Nor must we any longer, under the spell of the phonetic system that obtained prior to the elucidation of the long diphthong series, follow Wackernagel (*BB* 4. 269) in the mischievous correction to *δῆκνται*. In Latin, the *i* of the diphthong has been lost altogether in *decus*, *honor* (: Skr. *daśasyáti*); but *dicat* (consecrates) and *dīgnus* (honored, honorable> worthy) contain it; cf. ἀρι-δείκετος and see *AJP* 31. 415. A secondary root *dek¹s* remains in RV. in impv. *dakṣatā* (do homage), construed (as sometimes *dāś*) with dative of receiver.

9. That the root *dēik¹* (acclaim) is anything but a specialized aspect of the root written *deik¹* (to point out, show, in Skr. *diś*), or conversely, I cannot believe. Clue enough to the special sense is furnished by the Aeschylean compound *δακτυλό-θεικτος* (= *dīgitis monstratus*> honored, conspicuous). I also compare our Biblical *shew-bread*. Personally I think that in the sept of *dāśati* the long diphthong series is archaic in the sacral and social word, and is older than the short diphthong series of *dīco*, *δείκνυμι*. The reduplication of *δειδίσκετο* is the intensive reduplication of Skr. *dēdiśte* (displays), formally allocated to *diś* instead of *dāś*. Again, we should not correct to *δηδίσκετο*.

HINDIISMS IN SANSKRIT AGAIN: A REPLY TO PROFESSOR FAY

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MY DERIVATION of *ādeśā*, 'salutation,' from Hindi (or some related dialect) *ādes* evidently goes very much against the grain with Professor Fay; for he thinks of at least three distinct and alternative ways of avoiding it. It puzzles me to discover why the suggestion should seem to him *a priori* so improbable, as apparently it does. But of that later. Let me first consider his alternative suggestions.

1. He thinks *ādeśam dattvā* need not mean 'giving a saluta-

tion,' but may mean simply 'giving a signal (to proceed).' The sage's response to the king's *ādeśa* is a benediction, *sukhī bhava*. The like of this is regularly delivered by a saint to anyone (king or other person) whom he may meet, *in response to a respectful salutation*. The salutation is represented as a necessary preliminary to the blessing. If occasionally in such cases no prior salutation is specifically mentioned, that only means that it is taken for granted, because the idea of its necessity is so commonplace and familiar. In another recension of the *Vikramacarita* the same king tests the omniscience of another saint by saluting him only *mentally* (that is, without words or other outward sign); when the sage offers a benediction, the king says 'Why do you bless me *when I hav not greeted you?*' To this the sage replies that by means of his omniscience he perceivd the *mental* greeting of the king. (This incident is found in *Indische Studien*, 15. 285.) The royal permission is not needed for a religious person to address the king; on the contrary, the saint ranks higher than the king, and it is the king's duty to salute him first. This is commonplace thruout all Hindu literature. Professor Fay's suggested interpretation of *ādeśa* is therefore un-Hindu.

2. Granting the meaning 'salutation,' Professor Fay thinks this meaning of *ādeśa* may be derived from Sanskritic uses of the root (*ā)diś*. Two of his suggestions may be groupd here.

(a) He calls to mind the frase *diṣṭyā* (*vardhase*), a form of congratulation (not of salutation). The literal meaning of this frase is not entirely clear. But certainly *diṣṭi* does not mean anything like salutation; and indeed Professor Fay's suggestion implies a very violent transfer of meaning based on a very vague psychological connexion. Another objection is that *diṣṭi* is not *ādiṣṭi*, and that in semasiology you cannot jump from a simple base to one of its compounds without hesitation.

(b) Deserving of much more serious consideration is the claim that *ādideśati* in RV. 6. 56. 1 means 'salutes.' If this wer so, or if any form or derivativ of *ādiś* in Sanskrit could be shown to hav such a meaning, then Professor Fay would hav som apparent ground for questioning my etymology. I shal endevor to show in the paper which follows this that he is wrong about *ādideśati*, and that in the Rigveda at least no such meaning attaches to any form or derivativ of *ādiś*. Even if I wer wrong

in this (and after reading Professor Fay's Rejoinder I am still fully convinced that I am right), I do not think that the question of *ādeśa* would be seriously affected thereby. The power of the counter-argument would be more apparent than real. Professor Fay has not been able to show any trace of the meaning 'salute' in any derivative of *ādiś* later than the Rigveda. Yet the word and its derivatives are very common in later Sanskrit. I should hesitate long before jumping from the Rigveda to more than a thousand years A. D., with no intervening link, on a point concerning the meaning of a word which is very commonly used in other meanings throughout the whole of the intervening period. It is not unimportant, either, that the actual form *ādeśa* does not occur in the Rigveda at all. So far as we know, *ādeśa* means, in all periods of Sanskrit where it occurs, 'command, instruction' or the like; until suddenly, like a bolt out of the clear sky, in a single occurrence in a work composed more than a thousand years A. D., we find it meaning 'salutation.' And then we find that Hindi *ādes* means, very commonly though not invariably, the same thing. To refuse to accept the obvious inference requires more self-denial than I have.

3. Professor Fay's third line of attack involves a series of interesting and ingenious etymological suggestions by which he seeks to link *ādeśa* in particular, and the root *diś* in general, with a number of other words in Sanskrit and related languages which mean 'honor, respect' and the like. His language in this part of his paper is not always quite clear to me. For instance, he says '*ādeśa* (greeting) may belong by honest descent to the sept of *dāsati* (does homage).' If he means by this that *ādeśa* may be directly connected with *dāś*, and only more remotely (if at all) with *ā-diś*, then I cannot follow him. Indeed, I cannot even argue with him on that point; for it implies the non-recognition of what to me are axiomatic principles. To my mind *ādeśa* 'greeting' is either a Sanskrit word by 'honest descent' (or derivation) from *ā-diś*, or it is not a Sanskrit word at all. A third alternative seems to me to be entertainable only by an act of faith. My own view is that it is not a Sanskrit word at all, but a Hindi (or other modern) word.

On the other hand, if Professor Fay only means that *diś*, 'indicate, show,' belongs to a group of Indo-European words some of which have developed such meanings as 'honor, revere,

salute'; then, if his etymologies ar sound (they seem to me pretty bold), they would indeed be of use in explaining the origin of this meaning of the Hindi *ādes*. For they would furnish interesting semantic parallels for the development of this word from Sanskrit *ādeśa* 'direction, prescription, aim' or the like (but not 'salutation').

The only point at issue would then be whether the meaning 'salutation' for *ādeśa* developt in Sanskrit, or whether it developt in a modern dialect and came into Sanskrit as a back-formation. Now, it is of course wel-known to all that Sanskrit—even much older Sanskrit than the Vikramacarita—is 'chuck full' of back-formations from the Middle Indie dialects, that is from popular speech. Buddhistic Sanskrit is the prize example of this; a large part of it is only rudely and imperfectly Sanskritized Pāli. (or som related dialect). But all periods of the language ar sufficiently full of the same sort of thing. Now then, if the very common Sanskrit word *ādeśa* never shows any meaning like 'salutation,' except in the one passage discoverd by me; and if the verb *ā-diś* and its other derivativs ar equally negativ; and if we find that, in Hindi, *ādes* is an extremely familiar and commonplace word in this meaning; then—I do not see what *dignus*, *decus*, or even *dāś*, can hav to do with the question (except, as aforesaid, perhaps as semantic parallels). *Hier stehe ich; ich kann nicht anders.*

Let me put a hypothetical question to Professor Fay. Let us assume that in a scolastic Latin treatise written in Bologna in the fourteenth century we find a common Latin word—say *dictio*—used in a sense in which it is otherwise unknown, even in medieval Latin, but in which its Italian equivalent is very wel known and common. Would Professor Fay look to Old Persian and Lithuanian relativs of the original Latin root to find the explanation of the isolated usage? Would he even trouble himself to go far afield among Plautine or Ciceronian cognates of the root in question—particularly among supposed cognates whose relationship is at best doubtful, and certainly cannot hav been apparent to the users of the language (as *dāś:diś*)? The parallel seems to me perfect.

The same considerations apply to *lāti*. No Hindi scolar, so far as appears, douts the fact that Hindi *le-nā* (*nā* is the infinitiv ending, the 'root' is *le*) is derived from Prakritic forms of

labh. (See Platts, *Hindustani Dictionary*, s. v.; Hoernle, *Comp. Gram. of the Gaudian Languages*, p. 70.) In Bengali the root is *la* (infinitiv *la-ite*), and Hindi dialects hav *laīnā* (Platts, *l. c.*). The late appearance of *lāti*, plus its correspondence with these words, is to my mind sufficient evidence that it is from a popular dialect, and that all attempts to connect it with IE. elements *le* or *la* ar useless and misleading. The only question open to discussion is whether it is a Prakritism or comes from a more modern dialect. In favor of the latter alternativ may be mentiond the following facts. There is no Prakrit base *lū*, so far as I can find. There is indeed a Prakrit *le* (Hemacandra, 4. 238; see reff. there quoted in Pischel's translation), which Pischel thinks probably connected with *lāti*, but which I think more likely belongs with Sanskrit *lī* (as Pischel also considers possible); cf. Karpūramāñjari, ed. Konow (*HOS* 4), 1. 13. At any rate *lāti* could with difficulty be derived from Prakrit *le*. It apparently comes from a dialect in which the vowel was ā. Cf. the Hindi dialect form *laīnā*, and Bengali *la*; the standard Hindi *le* is apparently not to be connected with Prakrit *le* (even if the latter belongs in this group at all), but its *e* is a contraction of *a-i*, in which the original vowel of the root appears. The compound *lānā* (for *le-ānā*), 'to bring,' may possibly, but in my opinion not probably, be the origin of *lāti*.

Again, the disappearance of medial intervocalic *h* is a familiar (tho not exactly common) fenomenon in the modern dialects (cf. Hoernle, *l. c.*; Kellogg, *Grammar of the Hindi Language*, p. 54). In Prakrit, on the other hand, it is rare. Indeed, Pischel (*BB* 3. 246 f., *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, p. 184) categorically and dogmatically denies that it ever occurs; but I think this is too sweeping, cf. Weber, *Hāla*¹ (*AKM* 5. 3), p. 29; *Hāla*² (*AKM* 7. 4), on strofes 4, 410, 584, especially on strofe 4. This is an additional reason for not connecting Prakrit *le* with *labh* (*lā*), besides its meaning ('to lay on'), which does not seem to fit the latter easily. If we bar out *le*, there ar no Prakritic forms of *labh* except those containing an *h* as representativ of the Skt. *bh*.

For these reasons it seems to me fair to assume that *lāti* comes from a modern, post-Prakritic dialect. This is certainly what Monier Williams intended to suggest in his *Sanskrit Dictionary*, s. v. Whether the suggestion has also been made elsewhere I

am not sure. It seems to me so obvious that I feel sure it would hav becom commonplace ere now, but for the facts that (1) *lāti* is so rare and late a word in Sanskrit, and (2) comparativly few Sanskritists, unhappily, kno anything about the modern dialects.

STUDIES IN THE VEDA

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8. *Ā-diś* IN THE RIGVEDA.¹

No CAREFUL STUDY of *ā-diś* and its derivativs in the Rigveda has yet been made. The nearest approach to one is found in Oldenberg's remarks, *ZDMG* 55. 292, and *Rgveda Noten* on 6. 4. 5. Oldenberg finds that *ādiś* as a noun usually refers to 'feindliche Anschläge.' This I believe to be tru; but I think that both the noun and the verb can be more accurately defined.

My belief is that the verb *ā-diś* (always in RV a reduplicating present, *ādīdēśati*, or intensiv, *ādēdiṣṭe*) means invariably 'to aim at' (with hostil intent), nearly always in the literal sense, 'to aim with a wepon at' (with accusativ of the person or thing aimd at). The noun *ādiś* likewise always means 'aim,' and in evry case except possibly one or two it also implies hostil intent.

Fundamental ar the two passages 9. 70. 5^{cd} and 10. 61. 3rd. The first reads:

*vīśā śūṣmena būdhate vī durmatir ādēdiśānah śaryahéva
śurúdhah.*

'The viril (Indra) overcomes the evil-disposed by his furious energy, aiming at them as an archer at opposing warriors (? *śurúdhah* of uncertain meaning, but cannot affect the ques-tion).—The second reads:

ā yāh śáryābhis tuvinrmnó asyáśriṇitādiśam gábhastāu.
'Who with vigorous strength prepares his aim with arrows in the hand.'

Most of the occurrences of *ā-diś* as a verb belong so obviously

¹ Cf. Fay, above, page 83. For the first seven Studies in this series, see *AJP* 35. 435 ff., *JAOS* 35. 240 ff., *AJP* 40. 175 ff.

to the sfere of hostil attacks that they require no discussion. Thus, 10. 134. 2^{cd}:

adhaspadám tám īm kṛdhi yó asmáni ādideśati.

'Put him down underfoot who aims against us.' The same or a closely similar locution is found 9. 52. 4^c, 10. 133. 4^{a-c}, 1. 42. 2^{a-c}. Equally simple and obvious is 6. 44. 17^{cd}, *abhiṣenāni abhy ādēdiśānān párāca indra prá mṛṇā jahí ca*. The only remaining occurrence of a finite verb form from *ā-díś* is 6. 56. 1:

yá enam ādideśati karambhád íti pūṣánam, ná téna devá ādíše.

In the light of the otherwise universal use of the verb, it seems to me clear that it should be understood here too in a hostil sense. I therefore would render, nearly (tho not precisely) with Roth, Grassmann, and Oldenberg (*Noten*, on 9. 21. 5), and at variance with Fay (who follows Ludwig essentially), 'He who aims (malignantly) at Pūṣan, saying "he is a porridge-eater (hind, weakling)"—the god is not a mark for him (literally, not is the god for aiming at by him).' Aside from the superior consistency with other occurrences of the verb, we hereby avoid the bold assumption of an understood *anyáh*, which Ludwig and Fay ar compeld to make. What parallel is there for the omission of *anyá* in such a case? In other words, how can *ná . . . deváh* mean 'no other god'? It means nearly the opposit of that: 'not the god (just mentioned).' It is mere casuistry for Ludwig to refer to 1. 140. 11 *priyád . . . préyo*, 'dearer than a dear one'; obviously this is not in the least parallel.

The noun *ādíś*, naturally, follows the verb in usage. In addition to the passages alredy quoted, it occurs in 8. 60. 12^{ab}: *yéna vánśāma pýtanāsu sárdhatas táranto aryá ādíśah*. Again the sfere is conflict (*pýtanāsu*); 'crossing over (escaping) the aims of the foe.' On the difficult, and pretty certainly corrupt, passage 6. 4. 5 see Oldenberg, places quoted. Oldenberg is evidently not prejudist in favor of the view I hold, for he specifically refers to 8. 93. 11 as showing *ādíś* without hostil meaning. Yet he holds, I think rightly, that in 6. 4. 5 (as wel as in 8. 92. 31, for which see his note on that passage in *Ägveda Noten*) it refers to 'feindliche Anschläge'; the fraseology of the passage (*turyáma*, cf. *táranto* 8. 60. 12, *árātir*, etc.) bears this out, whatever may be the tru reading and interpretation of the text. The passage 8. 93. 11, which Oldenberg seems to think shows

ādīśam in a different sense, is inconclusiv, and can as easily be interpreted in my way as in any other: *yásya te nū cid ādīśam ná minánti svarájyam, ná devó nádhrigur jánah.* ‘Verily they do not at all obstruct (impede) thy aim, thy imperium.’ Of course there is nothing in the context which definitely proves that Indra’s ‘aim’ is directed against his enemies; yet it would be only his enemies that would wish to ‘obstruct’ it, and Indra’s general character, as wel as the usual meaning of *ādīś* (not to speak of *svarájyam*, parallel to it) suggest this.

In two or three passages an *ādīś* is attributed to Soma. It occurs twice in the consecutiv stanzas 9. 21. 5 and 6, in closely parallel locutions:

*āsmin piśáñgam indavo dádhātā venám ādīše,
yó asmábhyam árāvā. 5.*
*ṛbhúr ná ráthyam návam dádhātā kétam ādīše,
śukrál pavadvham árṇasā. 6.*

The key to *ādīše* is *yó asmábhyam árāvā*. The soma-drops ar to fix their *vená* ‘for aiming at him who is stingy towards us.’ In the next stanza pāda b is repeated with *kéta* for *vená*; obviously 5^c is to be understood also with 6^b. Oldenberg (*Noten*) seems to me wrong on these stanzas, tho he is right to the extent of taking *ādīše* in a hostil sense. It seems to me that both *piśáñga* *vená* and *kéta* must pertain to the soma, not to the stingy man (proleptically). The locativ *asmin* causes no difficulty; it depends in sense, at least, on *ādīše* (perhaps also in literal construction, since we need not expect with the verbal noun the accusativ which would be found with a finite verb-form of *ā-diś*; but it may also depend on *ā-dhā*, ‘fix . . . upon him for aiming’ = ‘fix for aiming at him’). The exact meaning of *vená* in this place is a problem which I hav not solvd to my own satisfaction; *kéta* at least is clearly ‘purpose, Absicht,’ nearly synonymous with *ādīś* except that the latter is distinctly a hostil word; and I incline to the opinion that *vená*, which exchanges with *kéta* in these two stanzas, is to be taken in som sense which amounts to the same thing in the final outcom.

The sound of the soma is *dūrúādīśam* in 1. 139. 10; the context is colorless and givs no clue to the meaning; ‘aiming afar off’ fits as wel as any other meaning.

I com finally to the last occurrence of *ādīś*, which Professor

Fay might hav quoted against me, since it is the one and only occurrence of a derivativ of this root in the entire Rigveda which, taken by itself, might plausibly be interpreted in the sense of 'salutation' or the like. It is 6. 48. 14:

*tám va índram ná sukrátum várūnam iva māyinam
aryamáṇam ná mandrám srprábhōjasam viṣṇum ná stuṣa
ādīse.*

Pūṣan is praised, and is declared to be like unto various other gods in their special sferes. Simple as the language of the stanza seems at first sight, there ar difficulties about it. For instance, we need a qualifying epithet to go with *viṣṇum ná* in pāda d. It is very lame to translate with Grassmann 'den meinend preis' wie Vischnu ich'; for *ná* implies that Pūṣan is '(so-and-so) like Viṣṇu,' just as he is 'powerful like Indra' etc. Ludwig sees this and construes *srprábhōjasam*, in the preceding pāda, with *viṣṇum ná*. The pāda division and the order of words ar against this, tho I regard it as superior to Grassmann's rendering. But is it not at least possible that *ādīse* is the complement to *viṣṇum ná*—'like Viṣṇu for aiming (against enemies?)'? It is tru that, so far as I am able to discover, the Vedic accounts of Viṣṇu furnish no clue for explaining this as particularly appropriate to Viṣṇu. But the Rigveda tells us so little about Viṣṇu anyhow, that we can not be sure that there may not be som allusion here to a feature of the god not otherwise made clear.—If, however, this is not acceptable, then Ludwig's interpretation of the passage is clearly the right one. Ludwig renders *ādīse* 'für meine Absicht,' and the like is implied by Grassmann's 'den meinend.' Barring the possibility (which I freely admit is only a possibility) that my new interpretation is correct, we should hav in *ādīse* at this point one clear case of the meaning 'aim' without hostil intent. There would, after all, be nothing very startling in this; it is not a very remote departure from the customary (and I believ otherwise universal) meaning of the word. It would stil be a very far cry to 'salutation,' which, as I said, might b^e conjectured for this passage if we knew nothing about the word otherwise, but which, in view of its constant occurrence in a very different sense, can surely not be adopted here. No interpreter, so far as I kno, has adopted it; not even Ludwig, altho in his interpretation of 6. 56. 1 he coms quite close to Professor Fay's idea.

REJOINDER TO PROFESSOR EDGERTON*

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1. To MAKE an Irish reply to Professor Edgerton's hypothetical question (p. 87), what I wish to know is whether the author or editor of the *Vikramacarita* and the late users of the verb *lāti* employed Sanskrit as a vernacular and mother-tongue, whether they thought in Sanskrit (I do not mean to the exclusion of a Prakritic or Hindi dialect). If these authors had received Sanskrit *viva voce vivisque auribus* it is entirely possible that they introduced into Sanskrit literature words not written into our record but, in point of origin, of hoary antiquity. Grammatical citations apart, *parut* (: πέρυσι) is not of record. This shows the possibility of a most ancient word never being included in the literary record (supposing us to have it all!), and leaves us to infer that Pāṇini took the example from the speech of his own time. The IE. character of *parut* would have guaranteed its authenticity even if, without Pāṇini's citation, it had emerged as late as *lāti*. Again, the history of the root *stigh*, long known only through the questionable medium of *Dhātupāṭha*, shows us how a word of most certain IE. origin was restricted, not (so far as I know) to a definitely ascertainable locality, but to the canticles of a restricted Vedic sect. The relation of literary Sanskrit to the genuine vernaculars is a thorny problem. From the time of the great Epics on, Sanskrit was not, in the narrow sense, a vernacular. But the language was imparted *viva voce* and received *vivis auribus*, so that it actually functioned as a standardized class or caste dialect, and its speakers were bilingual. In a genuine, if restricted, sense, this dialect must have begun as speech, so that the question arises at what time, in which century (sorites-wise) from 200 B. C. (shall I say?) down to 1500 A. D., the colloquial founts dried up. For *lāti* and *ādeśa* there is also the other question of a possible bookish source (see § 9, note). If a word of good IE. stamp appeared first in the learned Epic of Apollonius or in Callimachos I should not question its genuineness as Greek, even

* Revised by the author after reading Edgerton's following 'Counter-Rejoinder.'

though the vernacular of these authors was Hellenistic. I cannot think the lateness of *lāti* substantially different from the lateness of *sthagayati* (covers): Lat. *tegit*; or of *hadati* which, exception made of Epic *-hāda*, is classical only, but surely of IE. provenance. Also note *itar*, primary derivative of *i*, but not found till *Vāsavadattā*, see Gray's edition, pp. 202, 214.

The vocalism of *lāti*.

2. I could not think, because of the conflict of vowels in Sk. *lāti* and Hindi *le-nā*, that the lexicon of Monier Williams meant to assert the express derivation of the one from the other; nor did I feel sure—though I am compelled to speak without due lexical aids—that the contracted Hindi form *lāna* < *lc-ānā* was earlier than the emergence of *lāti*. [And now exactly so for the Bengali root *lā*.] On the other hand, the morphological relation between *lāti* and *labhati* has so many analogues to confirm it in IE. grammar that a theory of late emergence, but early origin, for *lāti* is not to be put out of court till something like philological proof of origin from an Indic vernacular is assured. In brief, a colloquial option between *lāti* and *labhati* may always have existed in that Primary Prākrit from which Sanskrit came, without one of the terms having emerged till a late period. Even what one takes for the commonest words may emerge relatively late into the written record, for instance Eng. *leg* *die* *bull* (see Royster in *Studies in Philology*, 14. 235).

[2a. In my original critique I failed to mention—because I did not know it then—that Wackernagel (*AI. Gram.* § 80) had tentatively proposed the correlation of *lāti* (root *lāu*) with Lat. *lucrum* (gain, takings). The very dialect forms cited by Professor Edgerton, however, make for the root *lēi*—perhaps from (*t*)*lēi*, cf. my explanation of Lat. *clē-mens*: *ταλαί-φρων* as toyed with by Walde on p. 868 and then on p. xx. There is an undoubtedly Prākrit root *le* and, whatever Pischel may have thought when he was translating Hemacandra, he categorically correlates the absolutives *levi* *lēppinu* *levinu* with Sk. *lā* in his Prākrit Grammar § 588. Then Pk. *le* is from *lēi* (: *lēi* : : Av. *pai* : *pāi*, see Bartholomae's *Grammar*, § 122. 10). We actually have Pk. *lenti* in the *Karpūra-mañjarī* 1. 13, as follows:

lenti na taha aṅgammi (loc. sg.) kuppāsaam
and do not put on a bodice (Lanman).

After Plautus *Amphitruo* 999, *capiam coronam mi in caput*, I feel free to render our sentence by
capiunt non tum (for *neque, postponed*) <*sibi*> in *membra uesticulam*.

How a proper sense for *lenti* here—and I have gone over the usage of *lī* carefully in the Petersburg lexica—can be arrived at from Sk. *lī* (cling) I cannot divine.—In Sanskrit the flexion of the root *k¹ī* (to lie)—so Brugmann correctly writes it in *IF* 6. 98; cf. Bartholomae, *Lex.* 1571—generalizes the midgrade *k²ii* (*séte*, accent abnormal). In Greek *κεῖται* *k¹ēi* is generalized. In Sk. *lā[i]ti* : Pk. *lenti* we have the alternation *ē[i]/əi*. That *lī* would be a legitimate form of *lā[i]* in Sanskrit is true enough, and we might in fact derive Pk. *levi* from **lītvī*, cf. Sk. *pītvī* : *pāti* (root *pāi*). An Indic root *lāi* | *lāi* is recognized by Franke, *BB* 23. 177, in Pāli *layati* (harvests). Now this is the root of *lāti*. For the sense of *reaps* (i. e. harvests, gathers) from *takes* (seizes) cf. Cicero, *Sen.* 70, *tempora demetendis fructibus et percipiendis*, with Cato's more generalized usage (*Agr.* 4. 1) in the turn *fructi plus capies*. Further note Skt. √ *grabb* (: Eng. *grabs*), cognate with Germ. *Garbe* (sheaf of the reapers).]

i. Whether 1 *ādeśa* (indictum) came to mean salutation.

3. If a sage could utter a benediction to a Hindu king in response to a merely mental salutation (an assumed glum silence, one suspects, to intensify the test of the sage's prescience) our sage might well have acknowledged the same king's intimation (cf. Lat. *indicat*) or signal (to proceed, of attention; look of recognition),¹ and that quite duly. When a king of England 'commands' a singer or other artist, what remains formally a command is in fact a great courtesy, with all the effect of a salutation. Note that in Latin, by way of ellipsis, but ellipsis is one of the standing elements in semantic development, *iubeo* (sc. *saluere*) means *saluto*.—I still think that one who said *diṣṭyā* (*salve*; lit. with homage) might have turned for its cases to *ādeśa*, a flexional word in being. In Iranian the correspondent of *ādeśa* is Av. *ādišti*, whence the semantic proportion Indo-Iran. *ā-dišti* (*indictum*) : Sk. *ā-deśa* : : *diṣṭyā* (with

¹ The closest synonym of *ādeśa* is *ājñā*, which means not only command but also, as I here assume for *ādeśa*, permission.

homage) : (2) *ādeśa* (if = salutation). In Latin. *salus* (greeting, impv. *salve* (be whole). What I have in mind is a semantic correlation such as we employ when we use *appurtenance* as the noun corresponding to the technical adjective phrase *pertaining to*, in the formulae of derivation and definition. The correlation *appurtenance* x *pertaining to* is desk English, not the vernacular. Cognate words do interchange their meanings as when, to employ a standard example, *to execute a man* is developed out of the *execution of a sentence*. It is perfectly legitimate to suppose that from *diṣṭyā* (*salve*) *diṣ* + *ā*, or derivatives thereof, might have gathered up the force of *salutem dico* (*saluto*) ; it is quite legitimate, as a question of genesis, to say that *ā-deśa* does not derive from *ā + 1 diṣ*, but rather from *ā + dāś* (do homage, acclaim), in alternation with *ā + diṣ*. For another example of the gradation *ā : i* in interior position—at root ends nothing is commoner—cf. *khād* : *khid*, with intermediate *e* in *khédā* (not secondary, *pacc* Wackernagel *AI. Gram.* § 15). Av. *sās* : *siś*, see Bartholomae's Grammar § 122. 8.

ii. The etymology of 2 *ādeśa* (? salutation).

4. If in a formula of politeness such as *ādeśam dattvā*—formulae may be very old—*ādeśa* meant salutation, it may well have come by its meaning through honest descent. The equation of *δείκνυται* (greets) with *diśnóti* (does homage) has not been responsibly questioned for 40 years (see literature in Brugmann-Thumb, *Gr. Gram.* § 342), nor do I understand Professor Edgerton now to question it; and we are now devising, to satisfy our craving for system, a fit gradation diagram with a place for the root *dē(i)k¹*, a place for its derivative *ā-deśa* (of IE. type); with a place for Lat. *dīgnus*,² a place for *dicat* (consecrates), and a place for *decus*.—On the late development of 2 *ādeśa* from *ādiś* see § 9 fn.

² Be it said in passing that *dīgnus* has certainly for its nearest of kin (morphologically and semantically, I mean) ONorse *tígginn* (eminent <*dígito monstratus*, see the lexicon of Falk-Torp, p. 1251). I call particular attention to the Umbrian perfect stem *pur-dins'* (see *AJP* 32. 414), with the sacral sense of offered. Here we have a nasal variety of the root of *dicat*; cf. Sk. *puro-dāśam* acc.), offering.

iii. Hindi *ādes*: *ādeśa* (*ādeśam dattvā*).

5. I assume that *ādes* came from *ādeśa* (*indictum*) and that, excluding the temporary expedient of 2 *ādeśa*, its alleged sense of salutation, so far as we may list a contextual shading for a definition, was at some time and place developed by way of connotation (a polite signal to proceed is a salutation) or by way of ellipsis. A situation apt for the development of the connotation lies in fact before us, where *tasya ādeśam dattvā* etc. = *ei intimatione <? sui> facta* (*rex ipse a sapiente salutatus est*). Or, if we inform ourselves that Lat. *indictum* means not only *testimony* but also *leave to testify*, we may grant that, by a like shift of usage, *ādeśa* might mean, not only *announcement*, but *leave to announce* (? himself, the sage): *ei indicatione <ipsius> facta*.

iv. The meaning of *ā + diś*.

6. In support of my substantially correct version of RV 6. 56. 1 (p. 83) I go on to demonstrate that this verb means pretty nearly what Lat. *in clamare* means, both in its good sense of *invoke* and in the bad sense of *jeer at, abuse*. Why should one who recalls Lat. *facinus* or *valetudo* or *in clamare* or *acclamatio* object to the exhibition by a word of both bad and good senses? As a *vox media* Eng. *challenge* is a good rendering of *ā + diś*; or Lat. *provocare* (but with all the range between *salutare* and *laccere*, or even *imprecare*). In 9. 70. 5, *ādēdiśānah śaryahéva śurúdhah = in clamans ut sagittarius³ iaculatores* (*śuru-* : Sabine Lat. *curis*, spear), and in 10. 61. 3, *āśrīnīta ādiśam = paravit* (lit. coxit, cf. coquere iras, verba) *in clamationem* (imprecationem). One thinks of the 'brag' of Homeric combatants before beginning to fight. The reader may easily go through the ensuing examples from Professor Edgerton's list and substitute due forms of *in clamo* or of *challenge*.

7. In the three next passages also *ādiś* has the nominal sense of *in clamatio*, but varying, like *acclamatio*, between cheers (*laus, honor*) and jeers (*inrisio, minae*). The passages are as follows: (1) 8. 60. 12^b, *táranto aryá ādiśah = superantes hostis in clamationes (minas)*. For the situation cf. again the brag and threats of any pair of Homeric warriors, e. g. Tlepolemos and Sarpe-

³ The archer and spearmen, typically taken, may have belonged either to hostile armies or, as rival arms of the service, to the same army.

don in E 633 sq. (2) In 6. 4 Agni is besought to fetch the other gods to the sacrifice (st. 1), and in st. 5 (text of Aufrecht) we read, *turyáma yás ta ādísām árātīr = superemus <eum> qui tibi invocationum (laudum) invidus <est>* (cf. 9. 21. 5, below).

(3) I render 8. 93. 11 as follows:

*yásya te nū cid ādísām nā minánte svarájyām | nā devó nādhrigvr jánah
euius illi quidem laudem non impediunt eius <ve> imperium
neque deus <alias, see § 9> neque semperfestinans(?) gens.*

8. In 9. 21. 5 (and likewise for the next stanza), *ásmi* . . . *dádhātā venám ādise* etc. = *apud nos facite voluntatem inclamare* (*eum qui nobis invidus est*), i. e. confirm in (or unto) us our desire, viz. to rebuke him who is stingy toward us.

9.—6. 56. 1. To give a hostile sense to *ādise* here involves taking *karambhád* (Pultiphagus), the title of Pūṣan, as defamatory. This seems to me a grave literary error in the interpretation maintained by Roth and Grassmann. Inasmuch as *karambhá* was the special food of Pūṣan it would be strange to summon his worshippers in the first stanza of a hymn by recounting a jeer of the ‘pagans’ (in this case ‘cits’) that honored him not. Professor Edgerton will have it that the first stanza of a Pūṣan hymn says ‘whosoever shall aim at Pūṣan (our god) with the taunt of “Porridge-eater,” the god is not his to aim at.’ To me the stanza can only mean what Sāyana thought it meant—and he rendered *ādidesati* by *abhiṣṭāuti* (praises)—‘Whosoever shall invoke (praise) Pūṣan (our god) by his favorite title need invoke no other god.’⁴ As for *karambhá*, it was mixed-with-the-food (*karambhīn*) of Indra, but besides (shade of Dr. Samuel Johnson!) it was also shared [and not only in ‘porridge-punch’] by Indra—unless we mean to disqualify the evidence of Ait. Br. 2. 24—and Indra was no weak-

* Among the Vedic clerks and priors, the scholars and men of letters, before and after his time (say 1350 A. D.), Sāyana would not have been alone in holding and teaching the equation *ādidesati* = *abhiṣṭāuti* (*laudat, celebrat*). I confess I am casual enough to believe, even in the face of Professor Edgerton’s ordered genealogical and chronological criteria, that among these scholars many, one or another, even the redactor of the *Vikramacarita*, seeking to vary the monotony of *namas* (*salus, laudatio, honor*), might have hit upon *ādeśam dattvā* (*laudationem dans*) as a fit substitute for *namaskṛtya*, so giving to *ādeśa*, a word in being, the sense of *ādidesati*.

ling, nor yet a hind.⁵ The real vocative *karambhád* (here turned to a nominative before *ítī*) is a virtual invitation to Pūsan to come and eat *karambhá*; and the Vedic poet said in effect, to make a slight change in my previous version,

qui hunc inclamat (invocat) Pultiphagum nomine Pūsanam,
non ab eo deus invocando <est>.

This version leaves the ambiguity of the original. If, to begin with the less probable, *deus* = Pūsan, the apodosis means that Pūsan will not wait for a second invitation, but accept instanter the call to his favorite food. If *deus* is not Pūsan the apodosis means: not a god is to be invoked by the worshipper, for Pūsan alone is sufficient. In my first version I supplied, after Ludwig, *alius*; but neither Ludwig (I will suppose) nor I actually supplied *anyás* to the original (see also for *ná* <*anyó*> *devó* 8. 93. 11 in § 7).⁶ We have here a partitive relation, and Pūsan is tacitly excluded from the other gods. [In passing I will state that I think Ludwig was entirely right in interpreting *priyád* . . . *préyo* in 1. 140. 11 by dearer than <any other, or the typical> dear.] One thinks of Corinthians 15. 27: But when he saith, All things are put in subjection, it is evident that he is excepted who did subject all things unto him. Cf. on *νείατος ἀλλων Class. Rev.* 8. 456, and the colloquialism, He runs faster than anybody (for anybody else); or, none such = no other like. On the other hand, there have been grammatical sticklers who, in respect to Milton's famous line, 'the fairest of her daughters, Eve,' objected to the inclusion of Eve; cf. *Odyssey* 5. 262, where Calypso includes herself with Ulysses (those two, and no others) in the words *τοῖς ἄρα μύθων ἡρρχε*.—The omission of 'other' is common enough, though lists of examples lack. Note, with consideration of the context (*δώματα* in 1. 299 = *δόμος* in 1. 302), *Odys.* 6. 301, *οὐ μὲν . . . δώματα Φαιήκων* = no <other> residence of the Phaeacians.

10.—6. 48. 14. Omitting the unessential and accepting (without reserve as to the metre) Ludwig's disposition of the adjective complement of *Visnu*, I would thus render:

⁵I am not unaware that Pūsan was a Pan among the gods. To Professor W. Schulze he is Pan, and the sectarian character of Pūsan, of which note is made below (§ 12), reminds us again of the difficulty of getting recognition for Pan throughout Greece.

tám (sc. *Pūṣānam*, again!) . . . | *sṛprābhojasam viṣnum ná stusa ādīśe*
eum ut Vishnum adipicibum <habentem> laudo invocando.

But for *ādīśe* (invocando) we must supply a subject like *us* or *you* (the worshippers), which yields the meaning *ut invocemus* (= *invocetis*); cf. 1. 52. 8, *ādhārayo divyā sūryam dṛśe* = *posuisti in caelo solem videndo* i. e. *ut videremus* (*ut homines viderent*). Also see excellent examples for subjectless infinitives in Mönro's *Homeric Grammar*, § 231. It were possible, but harsher, to render *ādīśe* by the imperative, *invocate*. Or *stusa ādīśe* = I (re)commend to (be) invoke(d).

11. The evidence for *ā + diś* = *in clamare* has been submitted. The definition recognizes derivation from the root *dēik*¹. I doubt not that Professor Edgerton admits the propriety of trying, so far as may be, to utilize IE. derivation and etymology in the effort to fix the definition of Vedic words. To know the approximately original meaning of a word certainly helps in fixing the sense of its further ramifications, as in the case of *diṣṭyā* (with homage) § 3.

12. In conclusion I suggest that the two *Pūṣan* stanzas I have interpreted seem to constitute a sectarian recommendation of *Pūṣan* as the equal or superior of other gods. It is because of this sectarian quality that *karambhād* cannot be a jeer (*ādiśi*), but must be a word of praise (*ādiśi*), see § 9.

COUNTER-REJOINDER TO PROFESSOR FAY

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PROFESSOR FAY (§ 3) seems to miss the point of the story of the 'mental salutation,' which appears to me to prove absolutely that, to the feeling of its author, no sage would bless a king without first receiving a salutation. There was no 'assumed glum silence'—except perhaps to an ignorant bystander who lackt the sage's omniscience; certainly the sage, if he had assumed a glum silence (that is, lack of salutation), would not hav blest the king. That is the whole point of the story. The silence was only tech-

nical, not real, because (as the sage afterwards observes), 'mind is superior,' and a mental salutation is fully as efficacious as a vocal one.

For the rest, I hav little to say in further reply except on one point. In discussing 6. 56. 1, Professor Fay objects to my taking *karambhád* as a scornful epithet because Pūṣan's regular food was *karambhá*, and because Indra also eats cakes and soma which ar *karambhín*, 'mixt with *karambhá*.' Now, I did not mean to say that the worshipers of Pūṣan considerd his eating of *karambhá* a matter worthy of scorn. Of course they did not. But that would not prevent other people from holding that opinion; and it is quite possible that Pūṣan's worshipers might allude to the opinions of these blasphemers for the purpose of protesting against them, just as the Indra hymn 2. 12 alludes in vs 5 to atheists who deny the existence of Indra.

It is a wel-known fact, which does not by any means depend on the word *karambhá* alone, that Pūṣan occupies a peculiar position in the Vedic pantheon. He is a sort of 'hayseed' deity; a god of shepherds, and distinctly different from the general run of the gods. So, for instance, he has no share in the soma; he prefers milk and gruel (*karambhá*). That he should for this reason be more or less laught at by som of the more 'cultivated' and warlike followers of Indra seems quite conceivable, and by no means out of keeping with any known fact of Vedic filology.

Now as to Indra and *karambhá*. From 6. 57. 2 it is sufficiently clear that *karambhá* is no normal food for Indra; here Indra and Pūṣan ar specifically contrasted on the ground that Indra consumes soma, and Pūṣan *karambhá*. That the soma should sometimes be mixt with *karambhá*—and this is, as Professor Fay himself notes, all that *karambhín* means—is not at all surprizing, and does not in the least support Professor Fay's contention. Soma was mixt with all sorts of things, notably with milk. Would a drinker of milk-punch be spoken of as living on a dairy diet? Similarly cakes for Indra ar *karambhín*—in this case presumably 'made of (that is containing) *karambhá*.' The most elegant cuisines use dairy and farm products constantly. But it is another matter to liv on plain rustic fare exclusivly. In spite of Dr. Johnson, I venture to guess that English epicures did in his day, and do today, eat

various confections of oats, and find them very palatable. His jibe was at oat-*karambhá* as a staple of diet. The Scottish Pūṣan drank no soma, and apparently lived mainly or exclusively on *karambhá*. So he was distinctly contrasted with Indra (6. 57. 2) and apparently met with some ridicule (6. 56. 1). Indra could not possibly be cald anything like *karambhád*; and the fact that his 'sporty' food and drink might contain *karambhá* proves nothing.

As to *lenti* (Fay, p. 94f.), I take it as a causativ formation from *lī*; and so, I judge, does Lanman.

THE SLEEP OF THE SOUL IN THE EARLY SYRIAC CHURCH

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IN SYRIAC CHRISTIANITY, from the fourth century on, there appears with more or less consistency and in much the same outline a curious teaching as to the state of the dead. As the earliest example of the sort that is available in Syriac authors is Aphraates, the 'Persian sage,' I shall quote him first. 'The Spirit is absent from all born of the body until they come to the regeneration of baptism. For they are endowed with the soulish spirit (from) the first birth,—which (spirit) is created in man, and is immortal, as it is written, "Man became a living soul" (Gen. 2. 7, cf. I Cor. 15. 45). But in the second birth—that is, of Baptism—they receive the Holy Spirit, a particle of the Godhead, and it is immortal. When men die the soulish spirit is buried with the body and the power of sensation is taken from it. The Heavenly Spirit which they have received goes back to its own nature, to the presence of Christ. Both these facts the Apostle teaches, for he says:¹ "The body is buried soulish, and rises spiritual" (I Cor. 15. 44). The Spirit returns to the presence of Christ, its nature, for the Apostle says: "When we are absent from the body we are present with the Lord" (II Cor. 5. 7). Christ's Spirit, which the spiritual have received, goes back to the Lord's presence; the soulish spirit is buried in its own nature, and is deprived of sensation.' (293. 2-24, Parisot's edition.)

In the above quotation several points are worthy of notice: (a) the 'soulish spirit,' or soul (*لَعْلَمَةُ لَبْسٍ*; or *لَبْسٌ*) is the principle of natural life, or *ψυχή*; (b) the Holy Spirit, or the Spirit, is the *πνεῦμα*; (c) the text of I Cor. 15. 44 does not read as in the Greek. Instead of, 'The body is *sown* (*στρέψεται*), a natural—or "psychic"—body,' the Syriac of Aphraates reads: 'The body is *buried* "soulishly," or "psychically,"' e. g. *لَعْلَمَةٌ مَخْفُونَ لَعْلَمَةٌ مَبْعَدَةٌ*.¹ The Peshitto reads instead

¹ In this quotation I have translated the adverbs as adjectives.

of ~~سَنَمَّ~~ of Aph. the same word as the Greek *σπείρειν*, ~~سَنَمَّ~~. While Aphraates teaches also that the body and soul may be 'deprived of sensation,' yet he means by this 'that in this sleep men do not know good from evil' (397. 17). He uses in this same passage three words referring to 'sleep,' and this is the clue to the meaning of his other statement that the good rest with a good conscience and sleep well, waking alert and refreshed at the Resurrection, while those who have done evil in their lives are restive and unquiet, for they are uneasy with the sense of foreboding and doom impending. He illustrates this by the story of the likeness of the two servants, one of whom is expecting punishment, and the other praise from his lord, in the morning (396. 16-35; 397. 1-14). This is perhaps the clearest statement of the doctrine of the 'sleep of the soul,' and Aph. claims it for an article of the Faith (397. 15).

There is hardly any feature of the teaching of Aph. which has occasioned so universal comment. So far as I can ascertain, all who have written on Aph. have spoken of it.² Since his is probably the clearest exposition of the teaching regarding the soul's sleep, I have thought well to give it in full.

Some reputed texts from St. Ephraem Syrus (373) who wrote in the same language as Aph. and with whom there are many fundamental likenesses in thought and expression,³ would seem to indicate that he, too, held to a tripartite division of man, and to the doctrine of death being a 'sleep,' in which there is the same kind of semiconscious knowledge of what is passing, as in the case of an habitual 'light sleeper.' 'The lesson of the dead is with us. Though they sleep, yet they teach us, their garments alone are destroyed,—the body which diseases bring to an end,—while the soul preserved in life, as it is now, (is) without

² E. g., Parisot, in *Patrologia Syriaca*, vol. 1, c. 3, pp. lvi-lvii; Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* 1: 733; George, Bishop of the Arabs, fol. 251-2, cf. Wright, *Homilies of Aphraates*, pp. 32-4; Nestle, *Realenc. f. Th. u. K.* 1 (1896), pp. 611-12 ('eigentümliche Psychologie, insbesondere die Lehre von dem Seelenschlaf'); Forget, *De vita et script. Aph.*, pp. 293 ff.; Sasse, *Prolegomena in Aph. Sap. Persi sermones homileticos*, pp. 18 f.; Bardenhewer, *Zeits. kirch. Theol.*, 3. 369-378; G. Bickell, in *Ausgewählte Schriften der Syrischen Kirchenväter*, p. 15 ('eine höchst seltsame und verkehrte Auslegung von 1 Kor. 15. 44').

³ Cf., e. g., St. Ephrem, *Sermo de Domino Nostro*, and Hom. XXIII of Aph.

'corruption.'⁴ 'The souls of the departed are alive and endowed with reason, laid up in Paradise for the Creator, while their bodies are stored up in the earth as a pledge to be restored one day.' The whole figure of death and sleep is brought out in the following: 'Just as in the eventide laborers rest, so do they rest for a time in death, until like sleepers waked from their sleep in the tomb, they (shall) don glory.'

Bickell, in his summary of St. Eph.'s doctrine (*Sancti Ephraemi Syri Carmina Nisibena*, Leipzig, 1866), says that St. Eph. teaches that the faithful departed are not dead but sleep, since they are alive and have the power of reason (cf. Rom. Ed. 3. 258). Yet the soul cannot yet go into paradise properly speaking, since nothing imperfect must enter there (3. 586-88). This state before the Resurrection is called 'sleep' in the technical sense; for until the Resurrection, together with their bodies, their souls are sunk in 'sleep' (cf. 3. 225 B). This place, or state (which of the two is not to be ascertained) is a sort of ante-room to Paradise. 'One road, my brethren, lies before us all: from childhood unto death, and from death unto the Resurrection; thence branch out two ways,—the one to the flames, the other to Paradise' (*Carmina Nisib.* LXXIII, ll. 24-28). 'Sweet is sleep to the weary,—so is death to him who fasts and watches (i. e. the ascetic). Natural sleep slays not the sleeper,—nor has Sheol slain, nor does it so now. Sleep is sweet, and so is Sheol quiet . . . Sleep strives not to hold the sleeper, nor is Sheol greedy. Behold, sleep shows us how temporary is Sheol, for the morn awakes the sleeper,—and the Voice raises the dead' (XLIII, ll. 158-176). That Eph. taught distinctly a trichotomy in the regenerate man can be seen from such a passage as the following: 'How much more does that soul love its dwelling place, if it get on well with the body, and in agreement with it expel the evil indwelling demon, and invite the Holy Spirit to dwell with both' (XLVII, ll. 97-101). He teaches that 'a dead man in whom is hidden the secret life, lives on after death' (XLVII, ll. 135-41). Over and over again St. Eph. compares death to sleep,—the Resurrection is being waked out of sleep (XLIX, ll. 170-189). This is the whole burden of LXV, where death is compared to sleep, which is like the foetus in the womb, the bud of a flower, the bird in the egg.

⁴ From the 'Necrosima,' *Op. Omnia*, Rom. Ed., 3, p. 225, D.

In other words St. Eph. seeks to teach that a real life is going on, hidden and secret, and only semi-conscious. 'How like is death to sleep, and the Resurrection to the morning! . . . He is a fool who sees that sleep passes at dawn, yet believes of death that it shall endure eternally' (LXX, ll. 58-61, 66-69). 'Our habitation (i. e. in death) is like a dream' (beginning of LXXVII). 'The mouth of a dead man spake to the soul in Eden: whence, why, and how hast thou come hither?' (LXIX, ll. 74-77). Thus Eden must be conceived of rather as a state than a place, if we are to make the teaching of St. Eph. intelligible. Sheol must refer to the place and state of the departed. Death speaks: 'the bodies of the prophets and apostles glow; all the righteous are for lights to me in the darkness' (LXIII, ll. 81-84). Evidently the indwelling presence of the soul of the holy man transfigures the body from within. Of course, St. Ephraem believed, as did Aphraates, that salvation meant 'new life,' and that the work of Christ as Saviour effected the imparting of His Spirit whereby Life was communicated (cf. the 'Discourse on Our Lord.' in *S. Ephraem Syri Hymni et Sermones*, T. J. Lamy, Mechlin 1882, cols. 147-274).

In general St. Eph. believed much as did Aph. He, following the same authorities, believed in a trichotomy of man, of body, soul, and Spirit—the divine principle, given by God through Christ. After death the Spirit leaves the body, leaving in it the soul. The two carry on life with, however, the natural faculties wholly suspended. This state is technically the 'sleep,' and from it the voice of Christ will call the dead to judgment. It is a little less explicit and complete than Aphraates, but the same teaching underlies the system of Eph., with which it is entirely consistent, and to which it acts as complement.

I am indebted to O. Braun's *Moses bar Kepha und sein Buch von der Seele* (Freiburg i. B., 1891) for the following quotation which he took from a Vatican MS. not yet published. The doubtful reference to St. Eph. gives the same teaching as is found above taken from the certainly genuine *Carmina Nisibena*.⁵ Braun quotes: 'Behold how (the dead) are encom-

⁵ For criticism of St. Ephraem's works cf. F. C. Burkitt in the *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, 2. 341 ff., and also *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 1-91.

passed in Sheol, and awaiting the great day, till He come to delight them, and bring hope to the hopeless' (p. 143). On the same page he quotes from a catechism ascribed to Isaac the Great (fl. 410), the teaching of which for our purposes may be summarized as follows: (a) both body and soul lose the power of thought and feeling after death; (b) while the body cannot even *live* without the soul, the soul, though it cannot see or hear without the body, is yet able to live (he illustrates this statement by the figure of the unborn child in its mother's womb); (c) the soul has no consciousness after death. Braun has doubts about the genuineness of this text (pp. 144-5), but there need be no presumption against this type of teaching, on the basis of internal evidence.

Babai (569-628—acc. to Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, p. 212) in his commentary on the 'Centuries' of Evagrius, fol. 13^b ff. (quoted in Braun, *op. cit.* p. 145) says: 'the soul cannot be active without the body, hence one must say that after death it is in a kind of sleep. The Holy Scriptures call death sleep; thus, too, the "Seven Sleepers" of Ephesus. As light cannot burn without fuel, so the soul in Abraham's bosom possesses only its unchangeable faculties,—i. e., the life from God, and (its) memory. . . . Man is a bodily existence endowed with reason. The soul is not a "complete nature" (yet) it cannot be said that after death it is as if it were not . . . ' We have seen that the mention of the soul in this state as something imperfect was made by St. Ephraem (cf. above, and Rom. Ed. 3. 586-88).

This same thought is of primary importance to Timothy I (779-823, date from Duval, *op. cit.*), who says: 'The soul is not a "complete nature," but (is) for the purpose of completing man's nature, like the body. . . . Will and understanding are only virtually in the soul,—otherwise it would be like the angels, a "perfected nature"; the other properties, that is, the four essential ones . . . are in abeyance, and the two which it possesses by reason of its union with the body are lost. Thus it is like a child in the womb.' Timothy gives as illustrations and authorities for his interpretation such passages in the Holy Scriptures as Is. 38. 18, Psalms 6. 6, 103. 33, 145. 4, Eccl. 9. 10, etc. 'The soul has no power of sensation, nor the use of memory, else it would suffer or rejoice, which experiences are not to

begin until the judgment, and which, besides, belong to the whole man. If the souls were to possess knowledge, then would the will be active,—then what of the body?' Under this same Timothy in 790 was held a council of the Syro-Nestorian Church, which condemned the errors of a certain 'Joseph the Seer, the Huzite,' who had been at the head of the school of Nisibis, the third in line from the great Narses. The canons of that council are preserved in Arabic, and may be found in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Vol. 3, pp. 100-1. They anathematize those who teach that Christ's Divinity could be seen by His Humanity, or by any other created things; 'they decreed that souls after the separation are destitute of sense until they re-enter their bodies, and that none save Christ's humanity has ever attained perfection in this world.'

Much the same sort of teaching appears among the Nestorians; it is not necessary to quote in detail. Elias of Anbar (930) claims that most of the fathers hold it impossible that souls should have any power of sensation after death. In his trichotomy he teaches that the body goes to earth, the soul to the place of souls (is it a *state*, or a *place*?), where all are together till the Resurrection, without sense or power of distinguishing between good and evil (cf. Aph. above); and the *πνεῦμα*, the power of life, returns to God (Braun, p. 146). Emmanuel bar Schahhare (*Mallepana* of Mosul, 980, cf. Duval, *Lit. syr.*, pp. 280, 293) on the 'Hexameron' teaches that the 'souls of the righteous are in a place of repose as in a sleep, like the child in its mother's womb . . .' (Braun, *ibid.*). Thus, also, George of Arbela (945-987, text in *B.O.* 3, pp. 518-540; on him cf. Duval, *op. cit.*, pp. 172, 393). The witness to this as the predominant Nestorian view is given by Moses bar Kepha, cf. chapters 32 and 33 (Braun, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 109). It is thus demonstrable that among the Nestorians from the 9th century on this doctrine was current, if not dominant.⁶ Having suggested the direction from which emanated this trend of thinking in the Syriac Church, with Aph. and Ephraem Syrus as

⁶ Cf. Guidi, *Testi orientali inediti sopra i sette dormienti di Efeso*, p. 50, note: 'Del resto la credenza, che le anime dopo la morte, restassero prive di senso fino alla risurrezione, era comune fra i Nestoriani almeno dal IX secolo. . .'

the first examples, it may not be without interest to investigate the sources of their own doctrine on the subject.

Before doing so it may be worth while to note that there are certain differences in the later Nestorian teaching, which may rest on the teaching of St. Ephraem. I said that it was not absolutely certain whether by Sheol, or Paradise, he meant a state or a place. Aph. undoubtedly means that the soul remains with the body in the grave, yet he personifies Death, who has a conflict with Jesus in which Death is worsted. So St. Eph. personified Death (in the *Sermo de Domino Nostro*, etc.), and perhaps localized Sheol as a place where are gathered the souls of those who sleep in death. Perhaps the simplest explanation to account for the facts would be that he spoke of the souls being laid up in store under the guardianship of Death (not always, by the way, a forbidding figure), while the bodies were laid away in store beneath the earth. If neither concept of 'state' nor 'place' was defined in his mind, something like what he meant by 'nature,' in a non-philosophic sense, would represent the condition of the departed. Aph. is more explicit. I think St. Ephraem, save where he waxes poetical, holds the same view. The later Nestorian writers sometimes held that the souls were garnered up in a 'storehouse,' while the bodies were in the earth (e. g., the 'Burial rite of the Convent of Mar Abraham and Mar Gabriel,' Cod. Syr. Vat. 61, fol. 36^a, in Braun, p. 147), and at other times that they were in the earth asleep in the bodies. Yet a new element has entered into their considerations, even if they did follow the same tradition as Aph., St. Ephraem, and the catechism purporting to be by Isaac the Great. As is apparent, Aristotelian philosophic conceptions (oftentimes misconceived) shaped their doctrine, as will appear below.

Aph. and St. Ephraem lived in the 4th century. Whence did they derive their doctrines as to the 'sleep of the soul'? Are there any other examples of this teaching in the early Church outside the Syriac-speaking branch of it? There are; and the resemblances are the more striking if the differences as to time, and the utter disparity as to point of view and idiom of thought, be taken into consideration. Tatian, in his *Oratio ad Graecos*, maintains the immortality of body as well as soul (c. 25). For the human soul is not of itself immortal, but is

capable of becoming so. 'It dies and dissolves with the body, if it does not know the truth; but it will rise later at the last, to receive, together with its body, death in immortality as its punishment. On the other hand, if it have the knowledge of God, though it be dissolved for a time, it will not die. Of itself it is darkness; and there is no light in it.' He quotes St. John 1. 5, and continues: 'It is not the soul which saves the Spirit, but the soul shall be saved by the Spirit. Light has received darkness, inasmuch as the Light of God is the Logos, and the ignorant soul is darkness. This is the reason why the soul left to itself becomes lost in matter, and dies with the flesh. If, however, it have achieved an alliance (*oūkyiav*, not a 'union,' cf. Puech, *Recherches sur le discours aux Grecs de Tatien*, pp. 70 ff.) with the Spirit, it will be in need of naught else. It rises whither the Spirit leads, for It dwells on high, while the origin of the soul is below. . . . While the Spirit was associated from the beginning with the soul, It abandons the soul if it be unwilling to follow. . . . God's Spirit is not in all, but descends upon such as deal justly, and becomes bound up with their soul' (c. 13). Thus Tatian is seen to teach an essential trichotomy, and goes on further to state that . . . 'the soul is of many parts, not simple. . . . It sees by means of the physical eyes of the body. . . . ' 'It cannot see without the body, nor can the body rise without the soul.' A man is only true to his own character as being the 'image and likeness of God' when he is removed farthest from the merely animal and physical side of his nature. The soul is the bond of the flesh, and the flesh the dwelling-place of the soul. . . . When (he) becomes like a temple, then God wills to dwell in him through the superior Spirit (cf. 1 Cor. 3. 16, 6. 19, 2 Cor. 6. 16, Eph. 2. 22). When the whole man is not thus coordinated (i. e., does not make himself fit for God's Spirit to reside in him), then he differs from the beast only by the power of speech (c. 15; with this cf. the quotations above from Aph.).

While Aph.'s notion of salvation is not that of Tatian, to whom it is the Revelation of Divine Light through the Logos, yet there are distinct and definite common elements. It will be remembered that Tatian, too, was a Syrian, and that he taught, after his expulsion from Rome, at the great centre of

Syriac learning, Edessa, and that his 'Diatessaron' was the text which both Aph. and St. Ephraem used constantly. The presence of the Holy Spirit restores what was lost to man before the Incarnation of the Logos. By means of the Spirit man attains immortality. Tatian says: 'I was not, then I was. I die, but I shall be raised' (c. 6), and Aph. has almost the same sequence of ideas. 'If God can create from naught, why is it difficult to believe He can raise the dead?' (cf. 369. 21-23). The body of man has its own natural and immortal life, but would be only as a beast before God, if the man chose not to avail himself of the presence of the Divine Spirit brought to mankind by Christ. When the individual has done his best to prepare as well as he may to become the temple of God, God's Spirit comes, and departs only at the believer's death. Since the body and soul are complementary to each other, they must needs abide together, and from Tatian's words we are left to infer that they remain together in the grave. At the Resurrection the Holy Spirit returns to raise the bodies of the righteous, while the wicked are condemned to 'death in immortality.' It is merely a question of terms between Tatian and Aph. as to the immortality of body and soul, and their relation to the Spirit. The thought is largely the same. If soul and body could be condemned to a 'death in immortality' and are to be raised for judgment, such an act at the last day could be considered either a waking from sleep or a quickening of the dead. If it is the former, we have the teaching of Aph. and St. Eph. If the latter, then we merely change the terminology. The idea represented is the same in both cases. If death be not total destruction without hope of rehabilitation, which would utterly forbid any possible recall to a state of life, but rather a temporary dissolution of faculties and properties, then it is as simple to conceive of it under one name as the other. Such a mere suspension of those faculties and powers, even if called 'death,' is almost identical with the notion of the 'sleep of the soul.'

Irenaeus lived at almost the same time as Tatian, and wrote his great work 'Against Heresies' in the years 180-5. It was early translated into Syriac, and the type of teaching is the same in general outline as that found in Aph. St. Irenaeus

surely held to a trichotomy of the nature of regenerate man. 'Sunt tria ex quibus, quemadmodum ostendimus, perfectus' homo constat,—carne, anima, et spiritu, et altero quidem salvante et figurante, qui est spiritus; alter quod unitur et formatur, quod est caro; id vero quod inter haec est duo, quod est anima, quae aliquando quidem subsequens spiritum, elevatur ab eo; aliquando autem consentiens carni, decidit in tērrenas concupiscentias. Quod ergo id quod salvat et format, et unitatem non habent, hi consequenter erunt et vocabuntur caro et sanguis; quippe qui non habent Spiritum Dei in se. Propter hoc autem et mortui tales dicti sunt a Deo: Sinite . . . mortuos sepelire mortuos suos, quoniam non habent Spiritum qui vivificet hominem' (*Adv. Hareses*, 5. 9, in Migne, *P.G.*, 7, col. 1144 f.). A little before this he has said, 'Anima autem et spiritus pars hominis esse possunt, homo autem nequaquam: perfectus autem homo, commistio et adunitio est animae assumentis Spiritum Patris, et admisto ei carni, quae est plasmata secundum imaginem Dei' (*ibid.*, col. 1137). The souls of the dead are to await the day of Resurrection in a place set apart by God, and after receiving their bodies and 'perfecte resurgentes, hoc est, corporaliter, quemadmodum et Dominus resurrexit,' they come to the Divine presence for judgment (*ibid.*, col. 1209).

The essential feature of all of these quotations is that the soul sleeps, or is in some kind of comatose state, from the time of death till the day of Resurrection. The contrary view would be the attainment of a degree of happiness or unhappiness immediately after death by the soul alone, as if the body were not essentially part of the human nature. Aph. certainly held that the soul was with the body during this interim and that both lay dormant in the grave. St. Eph. is not so clear as to the relations of the body and the soul. Isaac, or rather the quotation above attributed to him, agrees in the main with Aph. The Nestorians, who held to the sleep of the soul practically

¹ It is true, however, as Klöbba has pointed out (*Die Anthropologie des hl. Irenäus*, Münster, 1894, pp. 100, 165), that there is no essential trichotomy of the *natural* man in St. Irenäus. It is only the 'perfectus homo' who possesses the spirit and then only as 'eine Zierde.' (Cf. Schwane, *Dogmengeschichte der vornicänischer Zeit*, p. 440; A. Stöckl, *Geschichte der Philosophie der patristischen Zeit*, p. 153.)

universally from 850 on, waver between the belief that the soul is with the body, and that it is stored up elsewhere, though much of the material is not precise enough in its outlines to be certain of. So far as the earlier examples go, we have found thus far that Aph. is much closer to the type of teaching found in Tatian in this detail, than the Nestorians are in that respect. St. Irenaeus, who as regards the composition of the 'regenerate' man is a trichotomist, is definite about the relation of body, soul, and Spirit and is in line with the type of Aphraates' teaching expounded above, while he differs from Aphraates chiefly in the mention of a 'locum invisibilem, definitum . . . a Deo in medio umbrae mortis . . . ubi animae mortuorum erunt . . . et ibi usque ad resurrectionem commorabuntur . . .' (*loc. cit.*, col. 1209). Whether this be state or place, or both, it is not certain, and it cannot be shown that he does not mean the buried body to be the natural place of repose for the soul. However, this detail is not of great consequence.

About the year 247, Eusebius tells us (*Hist. eccl.* 6. 37), Origen successfully combatted at a synod the strange doctrine of 'the Arabians who said that at the present time the human soul dies and perishes with the body, but that at the time of the resurrection they will be renewed together.' McGiffert on this passage (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2d Series, vol. 1, 1904, p. 279) refers to two passages where similar doctrines are discussed. He feels that Redepenning (*Origenes; Leben und Lehre*, Bonn, 1841, vol. 2, on the Arabian Church, pp. 74-129) is wrong in claiming that Eusebius misunderstood the theology of the Arabian Church. Redepenning contends that the Christian community in Arabia was nourished on Jewish teaching (p. 75), that St. Paul travelled thither (Gal. 1. 17) and was reputed to have founded a Church at Bostra. The early Arabian Christians were Semitic, and probably Jewish, converts. Continual resurgences of the fundamentally Jewish character of their faith disrupted the progress of their church life, and its contact with the Church at large (p. 105). He claims that the proper notion of the Arabian Christians' teaching is not found in Eusebius, who misrepresents it, and says that it is fundamentally Jewish. In Jewish teaching he finds the original teaching from which this is drawn, that the dead sleep in the earth, and maintain a kind of shadowy existence

with the Father (p. 109). He refers to Tatian, and to the teaching of Irenaeus (cf. above), commenting on which he says: 'the soul . . . is only the breath of earthly life which through being taken up into the Holy Spirit becomes capable of immortality. The earthly life is itself transitory and passes away so soon as the breath of life (i. e., the soul), by which God quickened the body, leaves it,—unless an external power, the Spirit of God, overcome the transitory' (pp. 106-7, cf. Iren. *Adv. Haer.* 5. 12; 4. 38). So Heracleon holds that the soul is mortal, and dies with the body in the grave, but is capable of being clothed with immortality. Origen definitely taught a trichotomy of body, soul, and spirit in man (on St. John, vol. 13, p. 275, ed. Migne).

It is not necessary to imagine that Eusebius gave a complete picture of the teaching of the Arabians. The distinction between the *πνευμαχίται* and the *θνητοψυχίται* seems not to be based on any valid foundation. Both theories, if indeed there be two, are attempted explanations of the phenomena of death, and the relations of body and soul to each other. To say that the body and soul 'die' and then 'become immortal' is not clearing up what is meant by 'dying' and 'immortality'!

The later references (e. g. in St. Augustine, *de Haeres.* No. 83, 'Arabici') do not add much. St. John Damascene (676-760) in *liber de Haer.* No. 90 (in Migne, *P.G.* 94, col. 759) says that the Thnetopsychists hold that the human soul is like that of the beasts, for it is destroyed with the body. Still later, Nicephorus Callistus of Constantinople (ob. 1356) repeats what is found in Eusebius, on whom he probably based this passage. His version is however slightly different: 'the human soul, together with the body, dies for the present (*πρὸς τὸ παρόν*), and with it undergoes decay; at the Resurrection to come it lives again with other bodies, and from then on (*τοῦ λοιποῦ*) it is maintained in immortality.' (*Hist. eccl.* 5. 23, in Migne, 145, col. 4.) The attempt to account for the state of the body and soul after death by calling it 'sleep,' i. e. suspended animation, is in some measure an explanation of the phenomena it tries to deal with. . . . Simply to say that 'death' involves 'death of body and soul,' etc., leaves still the question: what happens to the soul? and does not assist in the settlement of the problem.

Thus we have seen that the doctrine of the 'sleep of the soul'

is found in full and definite form in Aphraates, a writer of the Persian Church, while St. Ephraem and perhaps Isaac the Great, west and east of him respectively, and all three nearly contemporaneous, taught much the same doctrine. In the later Nestorian Church, the doctrine of the sleep of the soul had a considerable number of adherents. Before the 4th century we find similar teaching in Tatian, and implication of a similar system in St. Irenaeus. In the 3d century much the same position, this time held by 'Arabians,' was attacked by Origin, and as a heresy it was known in more or less imperfect form, in writers of the 14th century Eastern Church.

I shall not attempt to construe a theory of interrelation between these various and scattered writers. It is sufficiently demonstrated that it was not peculiar or unique in the case of Aphraates. It may be that another instance of similarity in teaching with the Asianic school, noticeable in other phases of his doctrine, may be found in this case. The Syriac Church undoubtedly had a great sympathy for such teaching. In fact it found peculiar favor with the Christian Semitic communities and writers. From this it may be inferred that there was some kinship in ideas between Eastern Christianity and Judaism, as Redepenning has suggested. How much importance can be attached to this fact? What sort of origins and sources can the doctrine of the 'sleep of the dead' be said to have?

(a) To begin with the latest phase, which was presented earlier in this essay—the Nestorian writers from Babai on. In comparing them with Aphraates, a singular difference will be apparent. While Aphraates certainly utilizes his theory of the trichotomy of human nature as an essential element in the presentation of his doctrine of the 'sleep of the soul,' the Nestorians base theirs on an entirely different psychology and philosophy. Their anthropology was based on a dichotomism. Aristotle began to be known among the Nestorian writers, and to be translated and spread widely in the 8th and 9th centuries. Before that time his philosophy had had many more or less loyal adherents among them, but these students of Aristotle had not always successfully translated Greek ideas and idioms, especially purely philosophical ones, into Syriac. For instance, Moses bar Kepha (ob. 903), who wrote a treatise on the dialectics of Aristotle, even at this late date misunderstood the

distinction between 'matter' and 'form.' Aristotle says: ἀναγκαῖον ἄρα τὴν ψυχὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι ὡς εἶδος σώματος φυσικοῦ δυνάμει ζωὴν ἔχοντος. ἡ δούσια ἐντελέχεια. τοιαύτον ἄρα σώματος ἐντελέχεια (*De anima*, II. 1. 412^a, 6, Ritter and Preller's text, pp. 339). The ἐντελέχεια is the actual being of a thing, as against δύναμις, potential being. In *De anima* 8. 3 the soul is called the ἐντελέχεια of the body, as also in II. 2. 414^a 14: οὐ τὸ σῶμα ἔστιν ἐντελέχεια ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ σώματός τινος . . . ; for the soul is τοῦ ζῶντος σώματος αἰτία καὶ ἀρχή (*ibid.* 415^b). The soul as ἐντελέχεια of the body is that by which it actually is, though it may be said to have had the δύναμις of existing before. The word in Syriac for ἐντελέχεια is **لَكْتَمَ**. It is apparent that the 'Book of the Soul,' for example, is full of misunderstood philosophical terms. Moses b. Kepha, who was a Jacobite, misconstrued the Nestorians about whom he was writing, while oftentimes they were nearer the mind of Aristotle than he himself was. As the soul is the cause of being of the body (*De part. an.* I. 5. 654^b 14), it is also that by which it actually is. Furthermore, it is the 'form' of the body, in that it gives actual being to that which had only existed before potentially, as matter. The word **لَكْتَمَ** meant also 'perfection,' 'completion,' and in this sense it could truly be applied to the soul as making possible the life of the whole man, by animating his body. Either element then was 'incomplete,' and so, while the soul was really the more important, yet it could not come to enjoy eternity without the body with which it stood in so intimate a relationship. The Nestorian doctrine of the soul sleep, from the 7th century on, is built on the Aristotelian psychology, unlike the earlier teaching of e. g. Aphraates and St. Ephraem.

(b) In his comments on Aphraates, Braun suggests that he must have been acquainted with contemporaneous rabbinic teaching as to the condition of the soul and body after death.⁸ In much the same vein Redepenning thinks that the 'heresy of the Arabians,' which caused the dissension that Origen had to settle, was none other than a bit of Jewish tradition which the Church had taken over (*op. cit.* p. 109).

In the books between the Old and New Testaments in which are reflected the speculations of the days preceding rabbinic

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

Judaism and Christianity, sources may be found for this doctrine, which appears fully developed in later days. On Gen. 2 and 3 was based the whole general distinction between the immaterial and material principles in man. Man became a living soul (**שְׁנִי**) because God breathed into him the breath of life (Gen. 2. 7). The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha contain the root of much of the doctrine which was to be found later in the systems of Christianity and Judaism respectively. E. g., in Eccl. 38. 23, Baruch 2. 17, Tobit 3. 6 and Judith, 10. 31 (*πνεῦμα ζωῆς*), the spirit is the divine breath of life as in Gen. 2. 7. In Baruch and Tobit the spirit and soul are different. While the spirit goes back to God, the soul continues to subsist in Sheol. According to Ethiopic Enoch, all the 'immaterial personality' descends to Sheol, and its life there is far from being unconscious (according to R. H. Charles, *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life . . .*, London, 1899, chap. 5). The primitive psychology was trichotomistic, according to Charles, but in the 3d-2d cent. B. C. a change set in toward the type of dichotomism which was to prevail in the first Christian writing. In 2 Mac. 7. 22-27 there is a syncretism of two types of psychology; while the departed are conscious (6. 26), yet the spirit is the life-giving principle of which the living soul is the product, as in Gen. 2-3, and these souls are given back to God at death (cf. Charles, *op. cit.* p. 232). According to the trichotomistic principle, the soul is the supreme function of the quickened body and the spirit 'the impersonal basis of life, returning to God after death' (cf. Eccl. 12. 2 and *op. cit.* p. 44). The state of the dead was spoken of as a condition of sleep, 'terra reddet qui in ea dormiunt, et pulvis qui in eo silentio habitant' (2 Esd. 7. 32, cf. also, Apoc. Bar. 50. 2).

The early distinction between soul and spirit passed completely in later Judaism. Its psychology was, as Bousset says, 'ungeheuer einfach,' distinguishing only between the external and internal in man, between soul and body. According to the older views, at the best a kind of shadowy existence in the grave or Sheol was predicated of the departed. This could not refer to the Spirit of God which returned to Him after death, ceasing to exist in that particular individual. Thus soul and body, in the older view, were intimately connected (cf. W. Bousset, *Religion des Judentums im nt. Zeitalter*, 2d Ed., Berlin, 1906,

pp. 459-60). While there is scarcely any distinct psychology in late Judaism, yet certain elements persisted in the popular religion, which preserved earlier views, or embodied popular speculations.

In the development of the notion of personal immortality, in connection with the teaching about the resurrection of the dead, the inference could hardly be avoided, that if their bodies were one day to rise, the dead themselves must be in a kind of coma or sleep. The intimate connection between death and sleep is suggested in a saying reported in *Berachoth* 57b that 'sleep is a sixtieth part of death.' Rabbi Isaac said: 'A worm is as painful to the flesh of a dead man, as a needle in that of the living' (*Ber.* 18a, *Sab.* 13b). (Then there follows the delightful story of the two ghosts who conversed on the eve of **ר'אש השנה** and were overheard by the **ר'פסח** who profited by the information gained from overhearing them.) That the dead were spoken of as 'sleeping' is shown in the story of R. Meir's interview with Cleopatra, when she asked about the clothing of the dead on the day of resurrection. The dead are called **שככים** (*Ber. ibid.*). That the dead are to rise is shown by references to Deut. 32. 39, 33. 6, that they talk in the grave by *ibid.* 34. 4, 5 (cf. *Berach.* 18b, *Pesachim* 68a, and the whole list of proofs in *Sanhed.* 91, 92, etc.). Assignment of punishment is, according to a story reported in *Sanh.* 91b where Rabbi talks with Antoninus, to be inflicted upon the whole man, when body and soul have been united, as otherwise each could blame the other, like the blind and lame men who were assigned the task of watching an orchard. During their master's absence the blind man bore the lame one to the trees, whose fruits they both enjoyed, and yet, when accused, each could point to his own lack of ability to steal the fruit alone! By inference, the body and soul are neither to be blamed or praised till united at the Resurrection.

The Resurrection according to the dominant Jewish view is for the righteous only (cf. *Taanith* 2a, 7a). The idea of the Resurrection of the body need not arouse surprise. 'If those who had not yet lived have come into being, how much more can they rise again who already exist?' (words of R. Gebiha b. Pesisa in *Sanh.* 91a, with which argument cf. *Aph.* 369. 21-23). 'If vessels (of blown glass) made by the breath of man can be restored if once broken, how much more then a human being,

who is created through the breath of the Holy One?' (Sanh. 91a)—where the double meaning of פֶּתֶן as 'breath' and 'spirit' is vital to the argument. The comparison of the grave to the womb appears in Sanh. 92b: as the womb receives and gives back, so does the grave, etc.

(c) One of the first who wrote on Aph. (Nöldeke, in *GGA* 1869, p. 1524) suggested that his doctrine of the sleep of the soul was true to primitive Pauline thought. As was indicated above in his quotation of the text 1 Cor. 15. 44, Aph. does not use the words: 'It is sown' but, 'It is buried.' The passage alluded to above (Aph. 369. 21-23) shows clearly that Aph. must have known the Pesh. text of this verse, but for some reasons preferred to use the other. St. Paul deduces the necessity for a twofold existence of man, natural or 'psychic,' and heavenly or 'pneumatic,' from a fresh interpretation of Genesis 2. 7. It is possible that he may have had the comparison of the seed to the plant alluded to above (Sanh. 90b, also in Ber. Rab. 95) in mind in writing 1 Cor. 15. (Thus H. St. John Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, 1906, p. 112.) He certainly used conceptions and teaching already at hand in the Apoc. and Pseudepigrapha; e. g., the trumpet of 1 Cor. 15. 52 and 2 Esd. 6. 23, Orac. Sibyl. 4. 173-4, and cf. Weber, *Jüd.-Theol.*, paragraph 369; and 'Those who are asleep' in 1 Thes. 4. 13, 15 and 2 Esd. 7. 32. Beyschlag in his *Neutest. Theol.* (2. 257) commenting on 1 Thes. 4. 14 considers St. Paul to have thought that the state of the dead was that of 'Schläfer im Schoose der Erde.' He did not teach a complete and utter death, because he used for 'to be dead' the word κοιμᾶσθαι. 'In this condition man's powers are latent, but it is not to last long,' etc. (cf. E. Teichmann, *Die Paulinischen Vorstellungen von Auferstehung und Gericht* . . ., p. 27, and note 2). St. Paul for the Resurrection uses the word ἔγειρεν, to wake (from sleep), in preference to the words ἀναστῆναι ἀπὸ νεκρῶν (thirty-five occurrences of the former to ten of the latter).

The Pauline trichotomy is unique in the New Testament (cf. Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 408-415) and is necessary to the consistency of St. Paul's whole tenor of thought. Since there are two Adams and two Creations, a natural and a spiritual man, there are two immaterial principles, soul and spirit. He who is purely natural possesses a soul, but when accorded the Spirit

of God, he then has both soul and body, and also the Spirit. Now the Spirit leaves to return to God at death, but not thus the soul. St. Paul nowhere makes a distinct statement, but the inference made by Aph. is most just. The soul is buried with the body, for if the body is to rise again, and the two are inseparably connected, they must needs remain together in the grave.

There is, then, in the doctrine of the 'sleep of the soul' in the early Syriac Church a complex of three elements, clearly discernible. The Nestorians were doubtless influenced most largely by (a) Aristotelian philosophy, which they did not entirely grasp aright. (b) Earlier teaching, which was trichotomistic (while the Nestorians were, in the main, dichotomists), was indebted to certain Jewish conceptions, perhaps of the popular religion of the day, and especially (c) (conspicuously so in the case of Aph.) to a thorough-going allegiance to the Pauline teaching.

INDO-IRANICA

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1. Avestan *aēšasa-*, petens.

THE AVESTAN ROOT *aēš* means to seek; to (seek to) hear (Bartholomae, *AIr. Wbch.*, p. 29, 4); to attack, waylay, seize (*ib. E.*); to obtain, acquire (*ib. 6*). The long word *aēšasa-* is from a primate *aisoskō-* (Av. *s* from *sk̄*), and the selfsame primate lies behind the Latin denominative verb *aeruscāt*, begs (as a mendicant). Note *s* from *sk̄* also in the compound *vanθwyaēsa*, army-thief, waylayer. For further definitions of the root *AIS* or *xis*, see *CQ* 9. 110.

2. Excursus on *ἐπαιστός*, seized, caught (taken in the act).

For Herodotean *ἐπαιστός* (wrongly accented in the books, in response to a wrong derivation, *ἐπάιστος*) a typical example is *ἐπαιστός ἐγένετο προδιδόντος* = he was taken betraying, i. e. caught in the act of betraying. In Apollonius Rhodius *Arg.* 4. 366 we must read *ἐπ' ἄστον* (*ἐπὶ* as in *ἐπ' ἴσα*, equally), ex improviso.

3. Sanskrit *pada-vī* (foot-) way.

With Perrson (*Beitrag*, p. 512) I identify *-vī* in this compound with Lat. *via*. In the earlier masculine *padavīs*, guide, the posterius meant goer, while *pada-* seems almost prepositional = with, cf. *πεδά* in the Aeolic poets, and see on Skr. *pad-rathas*, footman (with the chariot) in *CQ* 8. 52, n. In *vī*, *i* is a weak grade of the *ei* of the root. Lat. *via* (and this remark is applicable to many Greek and Latin feminines in *ia*) is a synthetic form, combining the feminine ending in *i* with the feminine in *ā*; in this case the root noun *wī* with a feminine suffixal *ā* attached to the weakest form of the root, i. e. *w-ā*. Perrson is in error in writing the root as *wēi* (but see § 10).

4. Indo-Iranian *ā-vis*, obvious.

This is a compound of *ā* (i. e. the proethnic preverb *ē*: *ō* for which English here or there is too heavy a rendering; German *dar* suits better) plus the adverb *vis*, i. e. *vi* extended by the *s*

which seems to be joined quite ad libitum with prepositional adverbs. The Avesta preserves *viš* and we have it in the compound *viš-patha*, quasi *deviously, variously*. As will appear later *vi* comes right close in meaning to the German adverb *weg*.

5. Indo-Iranian *vi*, *vi*, asunder, apart; *weg* (cf. Ital. *via*).

I explain the adverb *vi* as a locative to a root noun *wē(i)*, with the verbal sense of to wind, whence to wend, wander. For this *wēi* see Walde's Lexicon s. v. *vieo* (from a secondary root *wy-ē*). As Eng. *wends, wanders* derive from the root of to *wind*, we may admit a like development of sense in the root *wē(i)*. Note that in English *went*, a past tense of to *wend*, serves as preterit to the verb to *go*, and has lost all trace of connection with to *wind*.

6. Excursus on (Sanskrit) doublet roots in *-an/-ā(y)*.

In *JAOS* 44. 341 I made, in part after Macdonnell, a list of these roots,¹ viz. *khā(y):khan*, *jā(y):jan*, *sā:san*, *tā(y):tan*. To these may be added the Indo-European pair *wā:wēn*, to wound (see Fick, 1⁴ p. 542 and p. 547, Boisacq, s. v. *μάστω*).

¹ In that list I concluded *drā:dram* and *gā:gam*. I now note that the Sanskrit trio *drā dram dru*, to run, justifies the trio *gā gam gu*, to go. I am exploiting no theory of origins. I am quite willing to believe that the *-am* and *-ā* roots had an entirely unrelated origin, though later they came, must have come, together in speech consciousness in response to a classification as inevitable as it was unwilling. To state this extremely, it is altogether possible that in their prototypes *βalreī*, goes (root *GWEM*), and *τ-βη*, went (root *GWĀ*), fell into a systematic association only as Latin *fert* and *tulit* or as Eng. *goes* and *went* so fall. But after they once fell into this association they served as a source for analogies, and the analogy groups then formed, without the consciousness, or at least without the conscious will, of the speakers, a morphological system. Accordingly, when we find in Sanskrit a posterius *gu*, going, we may set it down at first as due to the analogy of Skr. *dru*, running: or we may place it at once, per saltum, in a morphological system with *gā gam*; cf. also *yū*, faring: *yā*, to go. There is neither rhyme nor reason in refusing *gā gam gu* if you admit *drā dram dru*, always, of course, upon evidence. Thus we escape the awkwardness of having to deal with Skr. *-gva*, in *nāva-gva*, as cow, instead of as going or gang, and we are left free to define *πέρ-βις* by fore-going and not by fore-bull (Bloomfield, *AJP* 17.424, 29.80; see the literature in Boisacq). The nominative *πέρ-βεις* will have originated after the vocative in *eu* (Sanskrit *o*). Thus the vocative was a common term in Greek in the *v* and in the *eu* stems. We owe *βv* instead of the correct *γv* to Homeric *πέρ-βα*.

Here I add *wē(i)*, to wind (go): *wen-d*,² to wind, go. We may here note the special sense of to wither in Lat. *viescit*, correlative to Slavic *ven-d* to wither (see Miklosich, p. 380); cf. Eng. *gone off* = deteriorated, etc.

7. Further on Indo-Iranian *āvīs*, obvious.

The Slavic sept of O.Bulg. *avě*, manifeste (see Berneker *Slav. Etym. Wbch.* p. 34), reveals that the combination in *ā-vis* was Indo-European. Slavic *-vě* differs from Av. *-vi(s)* as Lat. *prae* differs from *pri*. In Greek, as I have pointed out before (see *AJP* 33. 391), we have a double of Skr. *āvīs* in the compound *āv-ωστί*, not on the road standing, not obvious, unexpected. Here belongs Skr. *āvīṣṭya-* (*ty* from *thy*, see *AJP* 34. 15, n.), obvious, visible. In the Avesta *āvīs-ya* = coming on the road, whence obvious, visible. The Indo-European trio *wai wi wō* (cf. Lat. *prae pri prō*) exhibits its last member in Gāthic Avestan *vā-dāya*, to put away, push away, thrust away, cf. *ωθέω*.³ Where Indo-Iranian *vī* connotes asunder, entzwei, there has been some influence from Indo-European *dwi*s, in-two, apart. To put it otherwise, the word *dwi*s in certain combinations lost its *d*- by dissimilation. The root *wi-dh* of Skr. *vidhyāti* and Lat. *di-vidō*, e. g., will have come by dissimilation from original *dwi-dh-*. In passing I would explain Skr. *vyadh* (*:vidh*) as containing in *vya-* a correlate of *duā*, through. Given the doublet *dwi(s)/wi(s)*, we may also

² The unextended root *wen* is preserved in Germ. *wohnen*, to dwell, i. e. to wander in a nomadic preserve; cf. Eng. *dwells*, from O.Eng. *dwelian*, to go astray, err, tarry, dwell. Skr. *vánam*, forest, wood (wood before trees, trees was an interpretation of wood) applied at first to the ranges in which the nomads dwelt, or over which their cattle wandered.

³ Despite the convenience of recognizing proethnic *wē*, *weg*, in Latin etymology, the words in which we have this *vē* seem to be best explained otherwise. It is not open to question, in my opinion, that Lat. *vehe-mens* is a compound with imperative *prius vehe-*, cf. Avestan *vazō-vāṇθwya-*, (carrying away i. e.) robbing the army-stuff. Thus *vehementem* (acc.) = carrying away the mind (first of anger etc., for the usage in Plautus see *AJP* 24.71). The contracted form *vē-mens*, supported by the influence of *dēmens* and *amens*, became the pattern for *vē-cors*, *vē-sanus* etc., and the irradiation even went so far that we have *vē-grandis* as a negative of *grandis*. Lat. *[s]vescitur* I cannot bring myself to separate from Skr. *agni-śvätta-*, *ignicomesus* (see *TAPA* 44.110). In *vē(r)-labrum*, water-basin (see *AJP* 35.153) the *prius* = Skr. *vār*.

expect to find other proethnic forms, or their continuants, with *w*, e. g. *vī*- in Lat. *viginti*.

8. *Excursus on *aiō-tháverai*, perceives; Lat. *audit*, hears.*

In the whole range of 'orthodox' Indo-European etymology there is nothing more pretentious than the equation of *aiō-* with Skr. *ā-vis*. For the treatment of *aiōs* as a dissyllable there is no particle of evidence. Of *ἐπαιωτός* I have already disposed (§ 2), and *diō*, I hear, is a plain denominative from a stem **AUSI-**, ear, in Lat. *auris*. The correct derivation of *aiōtháverai* is from the root *ais*, to take (see § 1), as I have before pointed out in *CQ* 9. 110. Eng. *takes* (I take it), *apprehends*, *assumes*, and Lat. *capiro*, *accipio*, *percipio*, all show how the sense to perceive originates from to take. See also § 1 on Av. *aēś*, with the sense of to (seek to) hear. If the current derivation of *aiō-tháverai* is a caprice, the derivation of Lat. *audio* from *awisdio* is a phantasm. With *aus-cultat* (ear-lends or leans) before us, anything but *ausdit* is unthinkable. Of course the elaborately fanciful primate *awisdio* has been invented to turn a special phonetic trick for *oboedio*, but it involves far less of unsupported assumption to conclude that here posttonic *au* on its way to *u* or, in vulgar circles, on its way to *ō*, was subject to reenforced rounding from *ob* modified by anticipatory palatalization from *di*,—causes resulting in something other than **obūdio*. But the analysis *o-boedit*, which means cognation with *πέποιθα* (*πείθεσθαι*), is always possible, cf. O.Lat. *con-foedusti*, and note that *foedus*, ugly, has held on to *oe*. Festus also gives us *amecus* (i. e. *amoecus*) for *amicus*, and we have *oe* in the second syllable of *amoenus*, lovely.

9. *Semantic excursus; the meaning before the last.*

In the classical tongues there is a wide range of turns such as to *walk with legs*, to *see with eyes*, to *talk with the mouth* (ore *loqui*). These are relics of the time when to *walk* and to *see* and to *speak* were not the original senses of their verbs, and when *ore loqui* e. g. meant something like to *crack* (Scottice *usurpatum*) *with the mouth*; when to *see* may have meant some such thing as to *scan*. The gradual ellipsis of the names of the organs participant, whereby the connotation was raised to the rank of definition, may be aptly illustrated by the comparison of Plautine *oculis rationem capio* with Terentian *rationem capio*

(see the great *Thesaurus*, iii. 321. 12); cf. also in Lucretius, *carmina auribus accipere* (4. 982) with *voces accipio* (4. 611). With *oculis* omitted *capio* was on the way to becoming a verb of perception.

10. Sanskrit (*vayyā*) *vayī-a-*, attendant: *ā-īras*, wooer.

This Sanskrit word, not treated by Uhlenbeck, is from a locative *vay-i*, extended by suffixal *o*. Here we come back (see § 5) to the root *wē(i)* (ē certain in Lat. *vēnor*). I am not disposed to deny *à outrance* the grade *wēi*; and those who refuse the gradation *ē* : *ē* will perhaps admit that *wāi*, by assimilation to *wēi*, was liable to appear as *wēi*. This is what we do accept in Greek for *θερός*. Or the grade *wēi* may have come by way of assimilation to the synonym root *ei*. Or [s]w-*ei* may be a compound root (on *sw-* see *TAPA* 44. 108 sq.). The additional sense of after (for, towards) in Skr. *vēti*, goes after (pursues, hunts, follows), and its cognates, will have come from the accusative regimen. So in the Rig Veda the participle of *ēti* (goes) means, with the accusative, seeking (begging, etc., cf. *ikērṇs*, suppliant: *ikvētāt*, comes to). By acknowledging interplay of the roots *wēi* and *ei* we may account for the *ai* (from *āi*) of the denominative *ātēi*, demands.

11. Joining an issue; Avestan *vī-naoiti*.

Av. *vī-naoiti* (only with *ava* and *frā*) means necat (Eng. slays, Germ. schlägt). We might derive from the root *wā* (§ 6) or, as we must then write it, *wā(i)*, to wound, injure (nocere). This root will hardly be different from Lat. *vae*; cf. Goth. *wai-dēdja*, malefactor (homo nocens). I take the Latin outcry *vae* to be (a continuant of) the 'root,' not a derivative from it. On the other hand, and this seems to me far more likely, *vī-* may be the preverb (=weg) and *nao* the verbal element, cognate with *nu-d* in Skr. *nudāti*, thrusts (see on this 'root' Walde, s. v. *nuo*). In its meanings *nudāti* combined with *vi* comes quite close to *vī-naoiti*, viz. to wound; to strike (Germ. schlagen) the lute. Given Skr. *nudāti*, then Av. *vīnaoiti*, slays: Goth. *naus*, slayer: O.Bulg. *nawī*, mortuus (cf. Goth. *b-nauan*, confricare) leave no room to challenge a root *NU* with the general sense of the root *TU* (cf. Walde, s. vv. *tundo*, *stuprum*).

THE DEPENDENCE OF THE TALMUDIC PRINCIPLE OF ASMAKHTA ON BABYLONIAN LAW

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THE LAW which governed and regulated the life of the Jew in former days is contained in two distinct literatures: Biblical literature, especially the five books of Moses, and Talmudic literature. In the latter we must distinguish between an elder stratum and a younger one. The chief work containing the former is known as the Mishnah, a book compiled about 219 A. D.; the chief work containing the latter is known as the Babylonian Gemara, which is a sort of a running commentary to the older stratum of law, especially the Mishnah. The most striking difference between these two literatures as law is the following. The immediate and sole authority for the law in the Bible is God. The Bible reads, as we all know: 'And God spoke to Moses saying, speak to the children of Israel saying,' etc. On the other hand, the Talmudic legal literature resembles our own Anglo-American law: the immediate authority for a certain law is the opinion of this or that judge or jurist. It reads as follows: If one does so and so, he should do this, in the opinion of Rabbi A; but Rabbi B says he should do that; and sometimes there follows the opinion of Rabbis C and D. These were not considered as the ultimate authority for the laws. As in the Bible, so in the Talmudic literature, God is looked upon as the ultimate and sole authority. Yet, for various reasons, the Jews could not regard the law contained in both literatures as one and the same. Thus, the problem arose, what is the relation of the one to the other? After a long struggle, the Mishnah propounded the following theory: Moses on Mount Sinai received two bodies of law: the Law and a sort of a running commentary to it. He was commanded to write down the former, while the latter was to be taught orally. The Law written down is the one we have in the five books of Moses; the other which was intended to be taught orally is the one now embodied in the Talmudic literature. Thus there were given to the Jews a written law and an oral

law, both intrinsically related to each other, both contemporaneous with each other, and both possessing the same divine authority. This oral law, commonly known as Rabbinic law or as Talmudic law, we shall designate as Jewish Law. The older stratum in this we shall refer to as Tannaitic Law, because the jurists cited are known as Tannaim; the latter we shall call Amoraic Law because the jurists cited are known as Amoraim.¹

One of the outstanding features of Jewish commercial law is the principle known as Asmakhta. Its legality was a bone of contention among the Jewish jurists for a long time. And finally when it was decided in favor of that principle, the doctors could not agree as to its application and exposition. Writes one of the famous Rabbis of the Medieval period: 'The scholars of former and later generations have fought concerning the principle of Asmakhta—what is the so-called Asmakhta and what does it depend upon; and I have not seen one that agreed with his colleague' (Solomon ibn Adrat, *Responsa*, vol. 1, Resp. 933).

The following exposition has the merit of, at least, being put forth by the latest Jewish Code.² An obligation is valid only in the case when there could be no question raised as to its *bona fide* nature on the part of its maker. Now there are three kinds of obligations in which the question could be raised. They are called Asmakhta obligations.

First, there is the kind of obligation the execution of which depends from the very first upon the good-will of persons other than the maker. For instance:

'In the course of studies that I have made in Jewish commercial law, I have come to the conclusion that three elements entered into its creation: the economic life of the valley of the Euphrates and the business customs of the people of that country—the Babylonian element; Biblical laws and the Prophetic spirit of the Bible—the Palestinian element; and the formulation of the new law as if it were an outgrowth of Biblical law—the element of Judaization. We meet with cases, for instance the institution of inheritance, which show no trace of Babylonian influence. But, as a whole, Jewish commercial law is the product of a harmonious and thorough-going blending of those three elements, though the proportions of the elements vary in the different groups of laws. The results of the present paper fall in line with this conception of the nature and rise of the law embodied in the Talmudic literature, though they do not necessarily presuppose it.'

¹ Cf. Moses Isserel's *Hosh. Mish.* 207. 13. We do not mean to subscribe to this presentation. It is hardly possible to arrange all the cases of Asmakhta under three headings (cf. *Baba Mes.* 67a).

A commission merchant received money from his dominus to buy wine, the delivery of which was to be made at a later date when wine would be higher in price. The time for delivery arrived but the commission man did not deliver the wine. Instead, he brought back the money received from his dominus. The latter refused to accept the money; he demanded his wine or a sum of money sufficient to buy the same quantity at the present market price. Jewish law instructs the courts to render a judgment in favor of the commission man. (Bab. *Baba Mes.* 73b.)

The Jewish jurists give the following legal explanation:—At the time of the promise, the commission merchant could not be absolutely certain that he would be in a position to fulfil it, since the execution depended upon the consent of others: other people had to agree to sell him that sort of wine. The obligation was thus dependent upon conditions over which the promisor had no absolute control. Such an obligation is an *Asmakhta* and hence void (*ibid.*).

Secondly, there is the kind of an obligation the execution of which is indeed in the hands of the maker, but which contains an element of exaggeration. For instance:

A man leases a field to till, and makes the following stipulation: 'Should I not till it, I hereby agree to pay you the exorbitant sum of \$1,000.' He did not till the field, and he was willing to pay the owner of the field the actual loss that he made him incur, but he refused to pay the \$1,000. Jewish law instructs the judges to return a verdict in favor of the lessee. (Bab. *Baba Mes.* 104b, Misnah *ibid.* 9. 3, and Caro Code 207. 13.)

For, the obligation from the very beginning was not *bona fide*.

Thirdly, there is the kind of obligation, the execution of which is neither in the power of the maker nor in the power of others; it is a case of chance. For instance:

A says to B, 'I make a bet that so and so will turn out. If I lose, I shall pay you a certain sum of money.'

In the case before us, it would seem that the *bona fide* nature of the obligation could certainly be attacked. Contrary to all our expectations, Jewish Law maintains that such an obligation is valid. This is not an *Asmakhta*-obligation (cf. Bab. *Sanhed.* 24b and *Tur Hosh. Mish.* 207. 7, Caro Code 207. 13).

Jewish Law claims no Biblical basis for it. Was there any certain tradition for this far-reaching legal principle? Let me cite further:

If one paid off a portion of his debt, the creditor deposited his bill and the debtor said to the depository, 'If I shall not have given you the rest of my debt between now and a certain day, return the bill to the creditor.' The day set arrived, and the debtor had not paid. R. Jose says the depository should give the bill of debt to the creditor, but R. Judah says he should not give it to him. (*Mishnah, Bab. Bat.* 10. 5.)

The Mishnah offers no hint as to the basis underlying the difference of opinion between these two authorities. If they knew of the principle, we must say that R. Jose does not recognize it, while his colleague does. This is really the opinion of the Amoraim (*Bab. Baba. Bat.* 168a). But we must notice the following:

He who pledged a house or a field and said to the pledgee, 'If I shall not have given payment to you between now and a certain day, I have nothing in your hands.' The set date arrived and the maker did not carry out his obligation. His stipulation must be carried out—these are the words of R. Jose. Said R. Judah, 'How can the pledgee acquire title to something that is not his?' 'Surely he must return the pledge.' (*Tosephtha Baba Mes.* 1. 17.)

This is also a clear case of Asmakhta as expounded by the Amoraim. But did those Tannaim know of this principle? R. Judah says that in our case there is nothing that could transfer the object from the possession of one to that of another. What does this mean? Does the jurist deny in such a case the very existence of a state of contingent ownership, as does the principle of Asmakhta? Or does he merely say that the mere fact of the pledgor's failure to pay the debt does not convert the state of contingent ownership in which the pledge finds itself, into a state of ownership vested in the pledgee? Tannaitic Law goes on to say that all authorities³ agree that the following obligation is valid:

Two people laid claim to a house or a field and one said to the other, 'If I do not come with my substantiating evidence before a certain day, I agree to waive my claim.' The day set arrived but he did not present his evidence, surely he lost his claim. (*Tosephtha Bab. Mes.* 1. 17b).

So if we say that Tannaitic Law knew of the principle of Asmakhta we must conclude that all agreed that such a case is

³ Read, in the Tosephtha 'R. Judah' instead of 'R. Jose.' Evidently a copyist misread 'R.J.'

not one of Asmakhta. Now, Amoraic law deals with exactly such a case, and there the Amoraim regarded it as a clear case of Asmakhta. We are not interested here in the exposition of these Tannaitic laws.⁴ Do the Tannaitic sources know of the principle of Asmakhta or not? This is the question that concerns us here. Later Amoraic teachers assure us that they did. But that is not the point; do we have internal evidence that Tannaitic law knows of the principle of Asmakhta? It is certain that the Tannaim do not speak of this principle as such. More than that, even the early Amoraim like Rabh, Samuel, R. Johanan, etc., do not mention the principle of Asmakhta, although we find sometimes that the late Amoraim speak of the principle 'in the name of' certain early Amoraim.⁵ And even the later Amoraim could not agree as to the legality of the principle. One famous judge (R. Nahman) lived long enough to change his mind on that subject. Finally, we may notice that even the late compilers of the Talmud did not agree as to the extent of the legality of the principle. We have at least three 'decisions' rendered by them concerning it:

The law is in accordance with R. Jose's statement that an Asmakhta obligation is valid (*Bab. Baba Bat.* 168a). The law is that an Asmakhta obligation is valid provided the failure to carry out the obligation was not due to unavoidable causes and provided further that the obligation was sanctioned by the 'ginian sudar' and in the presence of a recognized court (*Bab. Ned.* 27b). The law is not in accordance with R. Jose's statement; but under all circumstances an Asmakhta obligation is void (*Bab. Baba Bat.* 168a).

It is perfectly clear that there did not exist a tradition concerning this principle. And, thus, we come to the conclusion that the principle had its origin neither in the Bible nor in tradition. This will become even clearer when we cite two or three judicial decisions which involved or should have involved the principle of Asmakhta.

⁴ The Jerusalmi states that all agree that when a man hires his son out to learn a trade, all Asmakhta obligations are valid; otherwise, continues the Jerusalmi naively, people will be unable to make a living (*Jer. Git.* 5: 8). Cf. also Maim., *Mekhirah*, 11. 4, and commentaries.

⁵ R. Hunu (in *Bab. Ned.* 27a-b) does not mention the principle. *Jer.* mentions R. Abahu (*Bab. Bat.* 10. 5) and the *Bab.* mentions later teachers who spoke of the principle 'in the name of' Rab and R. Johanan, (*Baba Bat.* 168a, *Ned.* 27b).

One deposited his papers with the court and said, 'If I do not come with additional evidence within 30 days, I agree that the papers deposited should be considered void.' He met with an accident and did not come. Said R. Huna, the papers deposited are void. . . . But, continues the Talmud, is not this a case of an Asmakhta?—and an Asmakhta obligation is not binding. Here it is different; the papers were deposited, and whenever the object of litigation is deposited, there can be no question of Asmakhta. Did we not learn as follows: 'He who paid a portion of his debt and the creditor deposited the bill of debt,' etc. And R. Nahman said the law is not in accordance with R. Jose's statement in which he does not recognize the principle of Asmakhta. Here it is different, since he said he agreed that his papers should be considered void. But, the Talmud continues, the law is that an Asmakhta obligation is valid provided. . . (Bab. Ned. 27a-b.)

R. Kahana claimed money from Rab Bar Sheba. Said the latter, 'If I do not pay you within a certain time, collect from this wine before thee.' R. Papa was of the opinion that an Asmakhta obligation is void only in the case of land, since, as a rule, it is not sold; but in the case of wine, since there is always a market for it, it is like ready cash. Said R. Huna, the son of R. Josua, to R. Papa, 'Thus it was said in the name of Rabha, "any obligation involving an 'if' is not valid." ' (Bab. Bab. Mes. 66b.)

This is the earliest statement with reference to the applicability of the principle of Asmakhta. The famous late jurist Rabha is said to be its author.

In view of the fact that this legal principle is not based on the Bible or tradition, and in view of the fact that, as far as internal evidence is concerned, it is a product of Jewish jurists who lived in Babylonia, a product of Babylonian Jewry, it is natural that we should inquire what was the Babylonian law and business custom with regard to it.

There can be no doubt that the Babylonians knew nothing of an invalidating principle of Asmakhta.⁷ But first of all, we

⁶ For further instructive examples, cf. Bab. *Baba Mes.* 104b, 109b, and 73b-74a.

⁷ Thus from the Old Babylonian law: 'He who breaks the agreement, in as much as he has sworn, should pay a certain sum and in addition he will have his head covered with hot asphalt' (cf. *Hamm. Gesetz*, 3, p. 223). And from the Assyrian period: 'He who breaks the agreement should place in the lap of Ninlil 10 minas of silver and 10 minas of gold' [an enormous sum] (John, *Deeds and Doc.*, 161). From the Neo-Babylonian period: 'One rents a house at a rental of five shekels per annum. Both parties agree that he who breaks the agreement should pay the other party 10 shekels' (Camb. 97, see also Dar. 25, and 378, Nbk. 103, Dar. 434, and Artax. in *BE*. vol. 9 by Clay.).

must notice that the Babylonians had their own conception of obligations involving a fine in case of default. 'It seems,' writes Prof. Joseph Kohler, 'that a debtor had the right to pay the fine in place of the fulfilment of the obligation; the agreement to pay a fine was conceived as an alternative obligation' (*Aus Babyl. Rechtsl.* 1, § 6). Now this is just the Jewish view. The principle of Asmakhta, in part, simply says this: An agreement to pay a fine in case of default is void, unless it is conceived, as it was by the Babylonians, as an alternative obligation.

Then again we must bear in mind that an agreement involving a forfeiture clause was sometimes drawn up as follows:

If on the 29th of Nissan, Marduk-nasir-aplu shall not give 3 minas to Bel-ibni, Bel-lu-šulmu and Lu-balat then belong to Bel-ibni the three minas as the complete purchase price (Dar. 319. 2, cf. also 309 and Kohler's note, *op. cit.* 3, p. 33).

This simply means that at the time the loan is made the creditor says to the debtor, 'You will either pay your debt at the date stated, or this money that I am now giving you is purchase price for the object which you are now handing over to me as a pledge.' This is just what Jewish law requires. The principle of Asmakhta says that a debtor can forfeit his pledge only if the agreement is made out in a way similar to the above mentioned Babylonian contract (קני מעכשוי).

We are now in a position to approach the problem before us.⁸ In as much as the Jewish business men followed the common law of the land in which they lived, they had no principle of Asmakhta. But in the case of an obligation involving a fine in default, they had a peculiar notion; and in the case of a transaction with a forfeiture clause, the contracts were at times drawn up according to a certain fixed form. The causes underlying that form do not concern us here.⁹ What does concern us is that there existed such facts. Some Jewish jurists then insisted upon that form, claiming that otherwise the obligation would not be binding; while others did not insist upon

⁸ No attempt is made here to give a detailed history of the principle of Asmakhta. We are here interested in showing its dependence on Babylonian business and legal customs.

⁹ Cf. Kohler's observation quoted above.

it. Such a situation was however intolerable to the Jewish jurists; they wanted every practice to be fixed and provided with a legal basis. The early jurists knew nothing of a principle of Asmakhta. Seemingly, they did not progress far in their expositions of the existent cases (cf. Tosephta quoted above, *במה יקנה הלו*). As time went on, the jurists were more and more inclined to favor the existent practices of the land mentioned above. Those, on their surface, involved the question of the state of mind of the maker of the obligation. This then formed the starting point for discussion in the schools. In the course of time, there was evolved a full-fledged theory which covered the existing cases and similar ones. The doctors in the Babylonian Law Schools then coined for it the technical term of Asmakhta, a word unknown not only to Tannaitic Law but also foreign to the Palestinian Amoraim. That was all accomplished mainly within the four walls of the law academies. The judges and jurists refused to subscribe to it. It was not until the time of the famous judge R. Nahman that the judges began to pay attention to it. That judge himself at first refused to recognize it, but later reversed his position. A younger contemporary succeeded in bringing forth a clear statement of the principle, *כל דאי לא קני*. And it was a generation later that one authority felt justified in claiming that it was a matter of daily practice that Asmakhta-obligations are void (Bab. *Baba Bat.* 173b).¹⁰

Thus the Jewish legal principle of Asmakhta means on the one hand the legalization of a few Babylonian practices, and on the other hand the extension of its own legal theory to cover all other similar cases.

¹⁰ The statement cannot however be taken too literally, for we find that the latest editors of the Talmud were not agreed as to its application, as stated above.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MIDDLE WEST BRANCH OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

The fourth Annual Meeting of the Middle West Branch was held at Evanston, Ill., February 20-21, 1920. We were the guests of Garrett Biblical Institute and Northwestern University, and our heartiest thanks must be given to the local entertainment committee, headed by Professor F. C. Eiselen, and including Prof. Kenneth W. Colegrove, Prof. Leslie E. Fuller, Prof. Perley O. Ray, Prof. Edmund D. Soper, Dean R. C. Flickinger, Dean James A. James, Prof. John A. Scott, President C. M. Stuart. The Shaffer Hall Dormitory was set free for the accommodation of those who did not care to go to hotels, and the University Club of Evanston was our headquarters and here we had our meals. An informal dinner, presided over by Dean Flickinger, was given by Northwestern University Friday evening, and a luncheon, presided over by President Stuart, was given Saturday noon by Garrett Biblical Institute. Through these we became acquainted with the staffs of those institutions, while a dinner of club members alone Saturday evening was an appropriate ending to the meeting. After the Presidential address Friday evening, Professor Eiselen entertained the members at his house, at which Professor Scott made an address.

The members present were Allen, Blomgren, Clark, Cohen, Colegrove, Eiselen, Fuller, Judson, Kelly, Keyfitz, Laufer, Levitt, Levy, Lybyer, Marshall, Merceer, Molyneux, Morgenstern, Olmstead, Robinson, Scott, Smith, Soper, Sprengling, Waterman (25). The following were proposed as new members: Prof. Kenneth W. Colegrove, Northwestern University; Miss Alia Judson, University of Chicago; Mr. I. Keyfitz, University of Chicago; Professor D. A. Leavitt, Chicago, Ill.; Rev. H. I. Marshall, Ohio State University; Prof. John A. Scott, Northwestern University; Prof. E. D. Soper, Northwestern University. Letters and telegrams of regret were received from Messrs. Bolling, Byrne, Conant, Tolman. At the business sessions, the nominating committee, consisting of Messrs. Kelly,

Morgenstern, Fuller (chairman), reported the following who were unanimously chosen: President, Prof. A. H. Lybyer, University of Illinois; Vice-President, Prof. W. E. Clark, University of Chicago; Secretary-Treasurer, Prof. A. T. Olmstead, University of Illinois; Executive Committee, Prof. Leroy Waterman, University of Michigan; Prof. L. B. Wolfenson, University of Wisconsin. On motions of Messrs. Levy, Morgenstern, and Simith, the thanks of the Branch were tendered to Northwestern University, to Garrett Biblical Institute, to the local committee of arrangements, and especially to its chairman, Prof. Eiselen.

The papers may perhaps best be reviewed in geographical order. Prof. E. D. SOPER of Northwestern University discussed 'Religion and Politics in Present-Day Japan.' The origin and development of the imperial cult was detailed and its importance emphasized for understanding present political conditions. Still, there is good hope for democracy in future Japan. The Monroe Doctrine of Japan was shown by Prof. KENNETH COLE-GROVE of Northwestern University to be the necessary result of our own Monroe Doctrine having been forced upon the Peace Conference. A detailed discussion of the methods by which militarist Japan was strengthening herself in China followed. Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER of the Field Museum of Natural History presented a remarkable series of colored slides which represented some of the finest examples of Chinese pictorial art.

'The Origin of the Karen and their Monotheistic Tradition' was presented by Rev. H. I. MARSHALL, now of Ohio State University, missionary at Insein, Burma. The results presented in this paper form a by-product of missionary enterprise.

The traditions of the Karen tribes of Burma indicate that they are immigrants into Burma from some northern country. They crossed the 'River of Running Sand' which is not the Gobi desert as earlier scholars thought, but rather the 'River Running with Sand,' and may refer to the Ho-ang Ho, or Yellow River, of China, at the headwaters of which the early home of Eastern Asiatic peoples was situated. The Karen language is Sinitic in form and structure. The people are Mongoloid in physical feature. Their possession of bronze drums peculiar to certain northern peoples of Upper Indo-China and Yunnan makes it probable that they made their home there some time, perhaps at the beginning of the Christian era, in the hills of Yunnan, for Chinese generals who conquered that region then found bronze drums in use. The monotheistic tradition is a close parallel to the account of the creation and fall in Genesis. The Father God made man, then woman from his rib, and put the two in a garden

where there were seven kinds of fruit one of which they must not eat. The dragon called 'Mukawli' came in and tempted the woman to eat after he had failed with the man. After this sickness and death followed. This story in verse has been handed down by word of mouth from time immemorial. Since the Karen were already in Yunnan, they could not have received these traditions from the Jewish colonies which did not enter China until 1122 A. D., nor from the Nestorians who entered in the sixth century. The absence of Christian tradition or Messianic hope shows the tradition could not have come from Nestorian or Portuguese sources. While it appears that a story having so many points in common with the ancient Jewish account of creation must have been borrowed, we cannot trace the direct agency through which it came. The ancient religion of China has been found to be a monotheistic system though references to it are scanty. The Karen are related to the Chinese racially and linguistically. May it not be possible that they are related religiously as well and that in this tradition we have a survival of an ancient faith of which we know very little?

Prof. WALTER E. CLARK, Chicago University, gave a paper on 'Prakrit Dialects in the Sanskrit Drama,' a close study of those sections in which the lower classes speak lower class language. The majority of editions sin by paying too much attention to rules of late Prakrit grammarians. More attention should be paid to the readings of the manuscripts. In the absence of Prof. H. C. TOLMAN, Vanderbilt University, the secretary read a note by him on 'An Erroneous Etymology of the New Persian *pādśāh* in relation to the pr. n. Patizeithes (Hdt. 3, 61).' The current belief that Patizeithes is the title of the Pseudo-Smerdis is impossible because of the phonetic difficulties involved, the use of the term, and the Magian title he bore is rather the Oropastes of Justin.

'The Sumerian Paradise of the Gods' was investigated by Prof. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Western Theological Seminary, on the basis of the Langdon Epic, and new readings and interpretations were presented. Prof. GEORGE L. ROBINSON, McCormick Theological Seminary, reviewed a recent work on the Samaritans by Rev. J. E. H. THOMPSON. Following up studies at earlier meetings of our branch, Prof. JULIAN MORGENSTERN, Hebrew Union College, discussed 'The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch and its Historical Significance.' Prof. C. A. BLOM-GREN, Augustana College, gave a minute investigation of the Book of Obadiah. 'The Attitude of the Psalms toward Life after Death' was presented with negative conclusions by Prof. J. M. P. SMITH, University of Chicago.

The more modern phases of the Near East were well represented. Prof. LESLIE FULLER, Garrett Biblical Institute, pointed out the large number of 'Humanitarian Elements in the Koran,' and its relationship to the life of the present. The branch enjoyed a brief visit from Prof. LOUIS C. KARPINSKI, of the University of Michigan, who has devoted his life to a study of the history of mathematics, and who talked on Oriental and Arabic mathematics.

The thesis that all science originated with the Greeks has been seriously advanced by prominent writers on the history of philosophy. This pernicious theory has had an unfortunate effect upon many writers on oriental science. The noteworthy progress in real science made by the Babylonians and the Egyptians is minimized; Hindu science is treated as entirely the product of Greek influence; Arabic science is also minimized, and the contributions of the Hindus to the development of Arabic science are frequently not mentioned. In the Hindu treatment of Hindu science, certain writers have minimized the actual records of progress in mathematical thinking, found in the Hindu development of the sine function, of algebraic equations, of a refined process for the solution of indeterminate equations, of the first and second degree, and in the system of numerals which we use. This material is homogeneous and furnishes internal evidence of a common origin, not Greek. In the absence of supporting Greek documents, the Greek delusion has influenced certain writers to postulate the nature of the contents of Greek works which are lost, to support the Greek hypothesis. A sympathetic attitude toward the Oriental peoples may well be expected of the historian of science. Undoubtedly much Oriental material is of poor quality, but so is much that is printed today in our own scientific periodicals. Oriental progress in science cannot be denied and it remains only for Orientalists and scientists to work together to make the record of the progress definitely known and widely appreciated.

At the reception given by Professor Eiselen, Prof. JOHN A. SCOTT spoke on 'The Dardanelles and Beyond.'

The campaign into the Dardanelles was a campaign of haste and despair, for the difficulties of making a successful attack either by land or by sea were so great that it was only the dread of seeing Russia make a separate peace which brought on the attempt. It was the original plan to cut off the German connections with the Euphrates-Tigris basin by means of an attack from Alexandretta Bay with Cyprus as a convenient base, but the jealousy of the French precluded the possibility of landing a British force in Syria, yet the urgency of the Russian situation made some action imperative, hence the attack on the Dardanelles. While from a military point of view this attack may have been an error, yet in the broader strategy of the war it was a deciding issue, since it helped the

Allies to keep the upper hand in Russia, held her in the war for another great campaign, and thus kept the Austrians from crushing Italy and the Germans from defeating France until the English had time to create and equip an army and until America had come into the struggle. It seems safe to say that this ill fated campaign against the Dardanelles by keeping Russia in the field was the deciding point of the war.

From his experience as a Near East expert at Paris and as chief technical expert for the King-Crane commission on mandates in the Near East, Prof. A. H. LYBYER gave new facts on 'The Near East at the Peace Conference.'

The Near East was represented at the Conference on behalf of the Serbs, Rumanians, Greeks, and the Arabs of the Hejaz, but not on behalf of the Bulgarians and Turks. This led to a one-sided presentation of the situation and looked toward a settlement out of harmony with the facts. The Conference came slowly and late to the treaty with Bulgaria and adjourned before taking up that with Turkey. In both areas, the trend of events was conditioned by secret treaties. The Treaty of London of 1915 proposed to divide Albania between Serbia, Italy, and Greece. The treaty by which Rumania entered the war guaranteed to her the territories she then held, including the Bulgarian strip taken in 1913. The agreement by which Mr. Venizelos expects to receive the undue award of Thrace and western Asia Minor has never been made public. The Sykes-Picot agreement gave the oversight of Palestine and the control of most of Mesopotamia to Britain; Syria, Cilicia, the rest of Mesopotamia, and an interior block including Diarbekir and Sivas, to France. The agreement of St. Jean de Maurienne promised southern Asia Minor to Italy. Russia was promised Constantinople and perhaps northern Asia Minor. Col. Lawrence made promises to the Arabs which overlapped those of Sir Mark Sykes to the French. The whole scheme was based on the imperialism of the Old Diplomacy, and paid small regard to ethnography, geography, economics, or the rights of peoples. At the Peace Conference and since the European effort has been directed toward carrying out the secret agreements, while the effort of America has been to secure a settlement in harmony with the principles for which the war was professed to be fought, and in the direction of permanency. The European scheme can be carried out in all probability only after a considerable war of conquest directed against the Turks and Arabs; and if it should become established it must be corrected sooner or later, either by a vital and effective league of nations, or by another resort to arms.

Introduced in happy fashion by President Stuart of Garrett Biblical Institute, Prof. LEROY WATERMAN of the University of Michigan delivered his Presidential Address on 'Oriental Studies and Reconstruction.'

The far reaching task of reconstruction affecting the modern world may not seem applicable, even by analogy, to so secluded a field as Oriental

Studies; but such sweeping changes in the present order, in themselves, demand of us new adjustments. The new age brings with it a challenge from the past and for the future. Oriental Studies have suffered in the recent past from an inadequate articulation with the larger cause of humanity that calls for a restatement and a reemphasizing of ideals. A closer practical scrutiny of every discipline in the coming age is bound to require a more intimate touch with living human values. Orientalists heretofore may have been overzealous in vindicating a *dead* past. Present developments in the Near East should help to bring about a more vital contact between the East of yesterday and the West. Recent world cleavage of thought has terminated our pre-war apprenticeship and calls us to rebuild both our house and its furnishings. Finally, our existing programs and equipment are inadequate to cope with our present opportunities. A comprehensive American policy, fully correlated with the plans of other interested nations, and capable of utilizing all our resources, is needed for the immediate task of recovering the fuller records of the past in the Near East, and for conserving the present sources of inspiration opened up by changed conditions in Palestine.

A. T. OLMSTEAD, *Secretary*

BRIEF NOTES

Julien's manuscript dictionary of the Manchu language

Sinologists may be interested in knowing that the Cleveland Public Library has just received, in its John G. White Collection of Folk-lore and Orientalia, an unpublished manuscript dictionary of the Manchu language, prepared by the great Chinese scholar, Stanislas Julien. This manuscript the Library referred to Dr. Berthold Laufer of the Field Columbian Museum, from whose letter has been taken, with his kind permission, the following account:

'The manuscript bears the title "Vocabulaire Tartare-Mandchou. Contenant la traduction de tous les mots tartares-mandchou employés dans la version de Meng tseu" par l'Emp. Khian loung." Opposite the title-page, written by the same hand, "Ex libris Stanislas Julien."

'What Julien calls Tartar-Manchu, we now call simply Manchu. It is a special vocabulary to the Manchu translation of the Chinese work Meng-tse (see Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Vol. 2). In 1824 Julien published a book under the title "Meng-Tseu vel Mencium, latina interpretatione ad interpretationem tartaricam utramque recensita instruxit, et perpetuo commentario e Sinicis deprompto illustravit Stanislas Julien. Lutetiae, 1824-29. 2 vol.," published by the Société Asiatique of Paris. . . . A copy of this work, which is in the White collection, has been consulted, but shows no reference to this vocabulary.

'It is obvious that Julien prepared this glossary for the purpose of his translation, and that this manuscript is to be dated prior to 1824. Whether it has ever been published, I am not prepared to say; but nothing is known to me about such a publication. The glossary is not noted by H. Cordier in his *Bibliotheca Sinica*, either as printed or as manuscript.

'It is interesting that in some instances Julien has added the Chinese equivalent to the corresponding Manchu word. It would not be worth while to publish this manuscript, as we have a Manchu dictionary by H. C. v. d. Gabelentz (Leipzig, 1864) for the classical literature and a complete Manchu-Russian dictionary by Zakharov. Julien's work is essentially of historical interest in that it shows us the working methods, the conscientiousness and industry of this great scholar.'

Perhaps some of the readers of the JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY may have further information about the his-

tory of this vocabulary. If so, they are requested to communicate it to the Cleveland Public Library.

GORDON W. THAYER,
Librarian of the John G. White Collection.

Cleveland Public Library,
Cleveland, Ohio.

The mosaic inscription at 'Ain Dük

This interesting Jewish Aramaic inscription, recently uncovered by a bursting shell at 'Ain Dük, near Jericho, has been variously published and explained, most fully by Père Vincent in the *Revue Biblique* for October, 1919.

Some of the characters are missing or uncertain, and their restoration is more or less a matter of conjecture. I would like to suggest the following as the probable reading:

דכִּיר לְטָב
בִּנְיָמִין פְּרָנָסָה
בֶּר יְסָה
ד[כ]בִּירִין לְטָב כָּל מִן
ד[מ]תְּחֹזֶק יְהָב או
ד[י]הָב כְּהָן אֶתְרָה
ק[ר]יְשָׁה בָּן רְהָב בָּן
כְּסָף בָּן כָּל מִקְמָה
ד[ה]יְאָה [לְהָוֹן] חָוְקָהּ
כְּהָן אֶתְרָה קְרִישָׁה
אָמֵן

'Honored be the memory of Benjamin the treasurer, the son of Joseh. Honored be the memory of every one who lends a hand and gives, or who has (already) given, in this holy place, whether gold or silver or any other valuable thing; for this assures them their special right in this holy place. Amen.

The reading of all the characters which are preserved seems quite certain, though they are somewhat carelessly executed, and several of them are made to resemble one another so closely that they would be problematic in a less plain context.

The basis for dating the inscription afforded by the palaeography is so insecure as to be almost negligible. It may be given

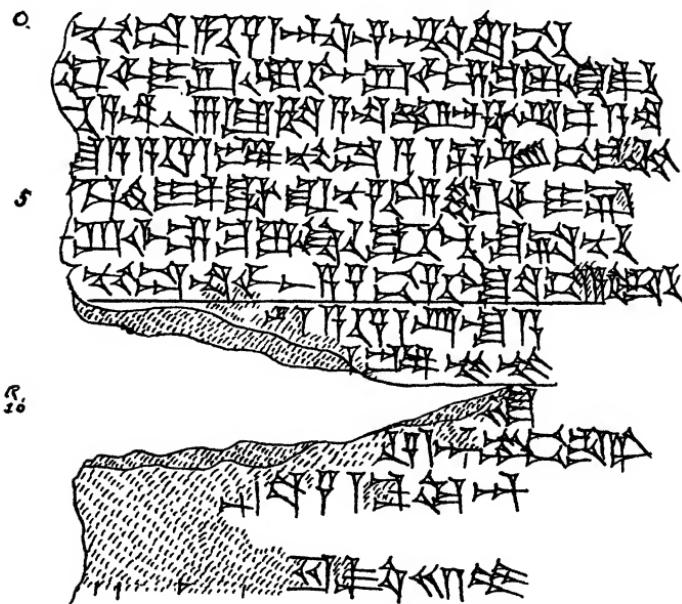
some slight value, however, when taken in connection with the few other indications. The date proposed by Vincent, the age of Herod the Great, seems to me extremely improbable; the evidence points to a much later day. The spelling בִּנְיָמִן is distinctly late; the relative pronoun is בְּ, not בֶּ (contrast the *Megillath Taanith*); the noun מִכְמָה, 'valuable possession,' is a later Rabbinical word, not even occurring in Onkelos, but frequent in Talmud and Midrash, and noticeably common in Palestinian Syriac (the Judean dialect of about the fifth century A. D.) The abbreviation בְּנֵי, for בְּנָי, points in the same direction; and finally, the characters of the inscription correspond as closely to those of the fifth century A. D., and the end of the fourth century, as to those of any other time, judging from the scanty material in Chwolson's *Corpus* and elsewhere. All things considered, the fifth century seems to me the most probable date.

C. C. TORREY

Yale University.

An Assyrian tablet found in Bombay

The Assyrian clay tablet here presented was discovered in the storeroom of a house in Girgaum, one of the wards of the city



of Bombay. Through my friend, Dr. Robert Zimmerman, S.J., Professor of Indic Philology in St. Xavier's College, Bombay, it came into my hands. I recently had the opportunity to announce the discovery before the Oriental Club of New York, and at Dr. J. B. Nies's suggestion the tablet was placed in Dr. C. E. Keiser's hands for decipherment. His reading follows. Dr. Keiser notes that of the two women sold by -zér-ukín one was his slave and the other his daughter; the *sîhi* and *paqirannu* officers who are always mentioned in these slave contracts apparently gave over the document guaranteeing ownership. I may add that it is not known how the relic reached India.

Transliteration.

OBVERSE

1. -zér-ukín apil-šu ša ^{md}Šamaš-êtir ina ḥu-ud líb-bi-šu
['A]-šar-ši-i-bîti ù 'Ina-bîti-pân-kalam-ma-lu-mur-aš-šu
. . . -šu a-na 16 šiqlu kaspu a-na šimi ḥa-ri-iš a-na
. . . -la (?)-a apil-šu ša ^{md}Nabû-zér-ukín apil ^mE-gi-bi id-din
5. [bu-ut] si-ḥi-i pa-qir-ra-nu ša 'A-šar-ši-i-bîti
[ù 'In]a-bîti-pân-kalam-ma-lu-mur-šu mârtu-šu la-ta-nu-šu
. . . . -zér-ukín na-ši ina a-ša-bi ša 'Ku-ut-ta-a aššati-šu
. apil-šu ša ^mSîl-la-a
. ^{md}Nabû-nâdin-šum

REVERSE

10. -tu
. [apil]-šu ša ^{md}Lugal-marad-da-ni
. ut ša ^mBa-di-ilu
. arhuŠabâtu ûmu 22^{kan}
14. šattu 2^{kan} ^{md}Nabû-kudurri-uṣur šâr Bâbili^{ki}.

Translation.

. . . -zér-ukín, son of Shamash-êtir, in the joy of his heart [i. e. of his own free will] Asharshi-bîti and Ina-bîti-pân-kalamma-lumurashshu his . . . for 16 shekels of silver, for a fixed price, to . . lâ, son of Nabû-zér-ukín, son of Egibi, gave (i. e. sold). (The document of) the *sîhi* (and) *paqirranu* officers, which (was taken out over) Asharshi-bîti (and) Ina-bîti-pân-lumurshu his daughter (and) his slave, . . . -zér-ukín bears. In the presence of Kûtâ his wife. (Witnesses) , son of Sîlâ; Nabû-nâdin-shum; -tu; , son of Lugal-marad-

dani; of Badi-ilu. month Shebet, day 22, year 2 of Nebuchadressar, king of Babylon.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

New York City.

PERSONALIA

There has appeared in the *Bryn Mawr Alumnae Quarterly* for November, 1919, an "Appreciation" of Professor GEORGE A. BARTON. It consists of papers by Miss L. P. Smith, of Wellesley College, Prof. A. L. Wheeler, of Bryn Mawr College, and Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania. It is accompanied with a Selected Bibliography of Dr. Barton's Publications, pp. 13-17.

Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, ethnologist in the Bureau of American Ethnology, and professor of ethnology in George Washington University, has been elected a corresponding member of the Société des Américanistes de Paris.

Père ANASTASE-MARIE DE ST. ELIE, the Carmelite lexicographer of Baghdâd, has written to an American correspondent of his experiences since the beginning of the war. On Nov. 23, 1914, he was exiled by the Turkish government to Caesarea (Cappadocia), and allowed to return only in July, 1916. Prior to the fall of Baghdâd in March, 1917, the retreating Turks set fire to the Carmelite monastery and completely destroyed its two valuable libraries of oriental and occidental books respectively. Père Anastase thus saw obliterated the work of 45 years of his life in preparing an etymological dictionary of the Arabic language, which was nearing completion. The monthly magazine, *Lughat al-'Arab*, of which he was the editor, has not appeared since, and will not be published again until the price of paper and printing is reduced. Orientalists who desire to send reprints or duplicate books for the reconstitution of the library of the Order, may address them to the Bibliothèque, Mission des Carmes, Baghdâd, Mesopotamia.

THE KASHMIRIAN ATHARVA VEDA, BOOK SEVEN
EDITED WITH CRITICAL NOTES

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INTRODUCTION

IT HAS SEEMED BEST to continue the work on the Kashmirian Atharva Veda by publishing Book 7 instead of Book 19 as promised in *JAOS* 37. 257. The material is presented in the same manner as that used in Book 5: the transliteration of the ms. is given in italics and is continuous, with the number of each line in brackets. Abbreviations and punctuation marks used are the same as in previous books; they are doubtless familiar to all who are interested in this work.

The results attained in editing the text of this book are rather more satisfactory than in previous books, but much is still uncertain.

Of the ms.—This seventh book in the Kashmir ms. begins f97b17 and ends f104a20,—a little more than six and one half folios. There is only one defacement worth mentioning, f105a 15, and it is possible to restore the text in spite of this. Some of the pages have 19 lines, some 20, none more or less.

Punctuation, numbers, etc.—Within the individual hymns punctuation is most irregular; the colon mark is often placed below the line of letters rather than in it. Below lines 17 and 18 of f100a are some five marks which might possibly be intended for accent marks.

The hymns are grouped into anuvākas, of which there are 4, with 5 hymns in each: anu 3 no. 5 has no kānda number after it, only 'anu 3'. and at the end of the book no number is written for kānda or anuvāka, tho space is left for one number.

There are a few corrections, both marginal and interlinear, only one of which is at all extended; this is on f98b between lines 4 and 5, where a pāda is inserted followed by 'dvitīyapustake'. In the left margin of f101b at the beginning of hymn no. 11 is 'raksāmantrām'.

Extent of the book.—This book contains 20 hymns, 4 of them prose. The norm of stanzas in a hymn is clearly 10: ten hymns (probably eleven) have 10 stanzas each. It will be observed that the stanza norm is increased by one in each successive book, starting with four in Book 1. Assuming the correctness of the verse-divisions of the text as edited below we make the following table:

3 hymns have	9 stanzas each	=	27 stanzas
10 " "	10 " "	=	100 "
3 " "	11 " "	=	33 "
3 " "	12 " "	=	36 "
1 hymn seems to have 10 "		=	10 "
<hr/> 20 hymns have		<hr/> 206 stanzas	

New and old material.—Twelve of the hymns of this book may be called new; the number of really new stanzas is about 100, the number of new pādas is somewhat more than 300. Four of the hymns of Ś Bk 5 appear here and also four of Ś Bk 19: our no. 14 is counted as new though some of it has parallels in TS and elsewhere.

ATHARVA-VEDA PĀIPPALĀDA-ŚĀKHĀ BOOK SEVEN

1

(Ś 5. 14)

[f97b17] *atha saptamah oṁ namo* [18] *nārāyanāya z oṁ namo*
javālābhagavatyāih oṁ namo tilotamāyāih zz

[f98a1] *oṁ suparnas tvāṁnavindat sūkaras tvākhanan nasā |*
dipso sage tvāṁ dipsantaṁ prati [2] *kṛtyākrto dāha |* *atho yo*
smān dipsati tam u tvāṁ jahy oṣadhe agne pṛtanāṣṭ pṛ- [3] *tanā*
sahasva prati kṛtyāṁ kṛtyākrte | *pratiharanena harāmasi |*
yāśkvārhi- [4] *ya pautu dyāvāprthivī tatsutat. |* *ut tam mṛgām*
iva viddhat kṛtye kṛtyākrtaṁ kr- [5] *tā |* *agham astv aghakrte*
śapathaś śapathiñcine pratyan prati prahināvāsi yaś ca- [6] *kāra*
tam aśchatu | *yas tvā kṛtyety ekā |* *punaś kṛtyāṁ kṛtyāmkrte*
pratiharanāna harāma- [7] *si |* *samaksam asminn ādadhma*
yathā kṛtyākrtaṁ hanah putra iva pitaram gaścha sra- [8] *dāivābhiṣṭhito daśa |* *tantur ivāvyayām idī kṛtye kṛtyākrtaṁ*
kṛtāḥ | *udenāiva vāru-* [9] *ny abhikrandaiṁ mṛgāiva kṛtyā kar-*
tāram rśchatu | *hṛṣvasyāiva pariṣāsaṁ parimāya* [10] *pari tvaca*

| druhārde caśkr̥se kṛtyām̄ grīvāsu pra muñcata | yā kṛtye deva-
kṛtā yā [11] vā manusyajāsi | tām̄ tvā pratyāñ prahinmasi |
pratīcīnayana vrahmañā | yada strī [12] di vāsmān akṛtyām̄
cakāra pāpmane | tām̄ u tasmāi nayāmassy āśvam ivāśvābhi-[13]
dhānyā z 1 z

For the invocation read: atha saptaṁaś kāñdo likhyate z oṁ
namo nārāyaṇāya z oṁ namo jvālābhagavatyāi z oṁ namo tilotta-
māyāi z

For the hymn read: suparnas tvānvavindat sūkaras tvākhanan
nasā | dipsāuśadhe tvain dipsantām̄ prati kṛtyākṛto daha z 1 z
<ava jahi yātudhānān ava kṛtyākṛtaṁ jahi> | atho yo 'smān
dipsati tam u tvain jahy ośadhe z 2 z agne pṛtanāśat pṛtanāh
sahasva | prati kṛtyām̄ kṛtyākṛte pratiharanena harāmasi z 3 z
iśvā ṛjiyāḥ patatu dyāvāpṛthivī utsutā | ut tām̄ mṛgām̄ iva
vidhyat kṛtyā kṛtyākṛtaṁ kṛtā z 4 z agham astv aghakṛte
śapathaś śapathīyate | pratyak̄ prati prahinmasi yaś cakāra tam
rechatu z 5 z yas tvā kṛtye prajīghāya vidvāñ aviduṣo gṛham̄ |
punas tvā tasmāi dañhmo yathā kṛtyākṛtaṁ hanah z 6 z punaś
kṛtyām̄ kṛtyākṛte pratiharanena harāmasi | samakṣam̄ asminn
ādadhma yathā kṛtyākṛtaṁ hanah z 7 z putra iva pitaram̄ gaccha
svaja ivābhīṣṭhito daśa | tantur ivāvyayann iti kṛtye kṛtyākṛtaṁ
kṛtā z 8 z ud enīva vāraṇy abhikrandaṁ mṛgiva | kṛtyā kar-
tāram̄ rechatu z 9 z ṛṣyasyeva pariśāsam̄ parimāya pari tvacah |
durhārde cakruṣe kṛtyām̄ grīvāsu prati muñcata z 10 z yā kṛtye
devakṛtā yā vā manusyajāsi | tām̄ tvā pratyak̄ prahinmasi pratī-
cīnena vrahmañā z 11 z yadi strī yadi vā pumān kṛtyām̄ cakāra
pāpmane | tām̄ u tasmāi nayāmassy āśvam ivāśvābhīdhānyā z 12
z 1 z

I have supplied 2ab from §; the pādas would be most easily
omitted if 1d and 2b ended alike, so that jahi may have once
stood in our 1d. In 4b utsutā is of course only a conjecture.
St 5abc occurs § 10. 1. 5abc. St 6 has appeared Ppp 2. 38. 3;
it is reedited here, as the suggestions formerly made do not seem
good.

2

(§ 5. 23)

[f98a13] oṣate me dyāvāpṛthivī okutā devī sarasvatī | [14]
okato ma indraś cāgnīś ca kṛmīn jambhayatām̄ imān yasyendra
kumārasya kṛmīn [15] dhanapate jahi | hatā viśvārātayogreṇa

vacasā mimā yo kṣāu parisarpa-[16] ti ye nāsāu parisarpati | natām yo madhyām gaśchami tam kṛmiṁ jambhayāmasi [17] virūpāu dvāu surūpāu dvāu kṛṣyāu dvo rohitāu dvāu | babhruś ca babhrukarnaś ca gṛdhra-[18] ṣ Kokāś ca te hatāḥ ye krimayas sitavakṣā ye kṛṣṇāś sitabāhavah ye ke [19] ca viśvarūpās tān kṛmiṁ jambhayāmasi | yo dviśīrṣāś caturakṣāś krimiś carīgo [20] arjunah śrīnāmy asya prsthīr apa vrścāmi yaś chirah tad asāu sūryo agād vi- [f98b] svadrṣṭo adṝīhā | drṣṭānasya ghnīmīn adṝītān ca sarvānś ca pramṛṇān krimīn. yavā-[2] savākhāsaś kaṣkiśyāmo dhūnkṣāmaś ca parivṛkṇavah drṣṭāś ca hanyatām krimir adṝ-[3] ṣṭāś cota hanyatām. hito yavākho hataś ca pavir hato sāgaṇavān uta | hatā vi-[4] svārātaya anena vacasā mama | sarveṣām ca krimīnām bhinadmy aśminā śiro da-[5] hāmy agnīnā mukham z 2 z

Between lines 3 and 4 at the right the ms has *sarvāṣām ca krimīnām dvītyapustake*.

Read: ote me dyāvāpṛthivī otā devī sarasvatī | otāu ma indraś cāgniś ca krimīm jambhayatām imam z 1 z asyendra kumārasya krimim dhanapate jahi | hatā viśvā arātaya ugrena vacasā mama z 2 z yo 'kṣyāu parisarpati yo nāsāu parisarpati | datām yo madhyām gacchati tam krimīm jambhayāmasi z 3 z virūpāu dvāu sarūpāu dvāu kṛṣṇāu dvāu rohitāu dvāu | babhruś ca babhrukarnaś ca gṛdhraś kokaś ca te hatāḥ z 4 z ye krimayaś sitivakṣā ye kṛṣṇāś śitibāhavah | ye ke ca viśvarūpās tān kṛmiṁ jambhayāmasi z 5 z yo dviśīrṣāś caturakṣāś krimis sāraīgo arjunah | śrīnāmy asya prsthīr apa vrścāmi yaś chirah z 6 z ud asāu sūryo agād viśvadṝṣṭo adṝīhā | drṣṭānīś ca ghnīmīn adṝītān ca sarvānś ca pramṛṇān krimīn z 7 z yavāṣāsaś kaṣkaśāśo dhuṇkṣāsaś ca parivṛkṇavah | drṣṭāś ca hanyatām krimir adṝītāś cota hanyatām z 8 z hato yavāśo hataś ca pavir hataḥ sāgaṇavān uta | hatā viśvā arātayo anena vacasā mama z 9 z sarveṣām ca krimīnām sarvāṣām ca krimīnām | bhinadmy aśmanā śiro dahāmy agnīnā mukham z 10 z 2 z

In st 1 ote, otā, and otāu are given as in §; but the ms reading may point rather to oṣṭe, oṣṭā, and oṣṭāu, from ā + vas with the meaning 'shining hitherward' or possibly 'abiding here.'

3

[f98b5] *tigmebhīr agnir arcibhīś śukrena deva śociṣā | [6] āmādo ni vaha tvam anyam āsu ni kṛṇva tām*

In a read agne, in d āsam ni kṛṇu tān. RV 6. 48. 7ab has our ab, but with bṛhadbhīr for tigmebhīr.

śociṣāgne arcīṣā ca nir daheto [7] aghāyavah | sakhyam ā samkṛṣṇame tvām cam āmād upa śambhuvām

Reading tvām cāmād in d would seem to give a possible sense to the stanza.

nir āmādo na-[8]nayāmasi niṣ kravyādho gṛhebhyah | sam-yādo nāma ye deva te agne mārabhantām | [9]

Read nayāmasi in a, kravyādo in b: in c mānsādo seems probable.

āmādaś ca kravyādasāś eādasyobhayān saha | prajām ye cakrire bhāgām tām i-[10]to nir nayāmasi |

In a read kravyādaś, in b probably mānsādaś cobhayān: also tān in d.

yāmesu aramanītama pakvam uta dādrṣu te yantu sarve sasa-[11]mbhūyānyatreto ghāyavah |

For a read ya āmeṣv arasatamaṁ, in b dādhṛṣuh: in c sambhūyā°, in d 'ghāyavah.

ye na sīduṣ kṛtakṛta kilviṣakṛta sādhyā punas tvā-[12]n yajñiyā devā yantu yata āgatāḥ

For ab read ye na seduṣ kṛtyākṛtaḥ kilbiṣakṛtaḥ sakhyam: in c tān, in d nayantu. Our ed = Ś 14. 2. 10ed. At the end of b the ms reading might be sakhyā.

avareṇa savarajo nenajām hastiṁ ba-[13]lam | dhātā no bhad-rayā neṣat sa no gopāyatū prajām |

There seems to be a contrast in pādas a and b between avareṇa and anena, but I can see nothing more; the sign transliterated 'ba' in 'balam' is not sure. Over the combination ts in neṣat sa the ms has śea.

kṛṇve ham rodasī varma [14] syāma savitus save | mātā no bhad-rayā bhūmi dyāuś cāsmān pātv aṅhasah | [15]

Read 'ham' in a, and bhūmir in c.

yad asurānām ahany asmān pāpāta medhinah devānām paśya dāivyam āpa-[16]ś śundhantu mām imām |

In b pāpāta is probably some form of the root pā 'protect'; medinah might better be read. In c paśya probably balances pāpāta; pāda d (perhaps reading imam) can stand, but cf. KS 38. 5d āpaś ° māinasah.

yā te pitur marutām sumnam emi mā nas sūryasya samdrśo yu-[17]vathā | abhi no vīro rvati kṣametat pra jāyāmahi rudra praja-[18]yā

Read: ā te pitar marutāṁ sumnam emi mā nas sūryasya saṁdrśo yuvathāḥ | abhi no vīro 'rvati kṣameta pra jāyāmahi rudra prajayā z 10 z

This is RV 2. 33. 1 with several variants.

yo garbhe antar yo vṛdhre | antar yaj jātaṁ janitavyaṁ ca pāruṣam tasmāḥṛdyā [19] saṁ haviṣū hamadhya sa naś prajāṁ jaradaśṭīṁ krṇotu zz 3 zz

Read: yo garbhe antar yo vṛdhre antar yaj jātaṁ janitavyaṁ ca pāruṣam | tasmāḥṛdyā saṁ haviṣā huvaḍhvam sa naś prajāṁ jaradaśṭīṁ krṇotu z 11 z 3 z

Cf. Ś 4. 23. 7b and TB 2. 6. 16. 2d.

4

(Ś 19. 13)

[f99a] idyaśū bāhū sthavirāu vṛṣṇyāu | citrā yamā vṛṣabhaū pārayiṣṇū | tayokṣe prathama yo-[2]gāgatc yābhyaṁ catam asurāṇā svar yat. | āśuś śiśāno vṛṣabho no bhīmo ghanāgha-[3]nah kṣobhanā carṣanīnām. sañkrandano nimiṣa ekavīraś śataṁ senā ajayat sā-[4]kam indraḥ sañkrandanenānimiseṇa jis-nūnā yodhyena duścyavanena dhṛṣṇunā | ta-[5]d indreṇa jayata tat sahadhvam yudho nara iṣuhastena vṛṣṇyā sa iṣuhastāis sa nakāmkri-[6]bhir vaśī saṁsṛṣṭā adhi indro gaṇena | saṁsṛṣṭajit somapā bāhośkūrdhvadhanvā [7] pratihitābhir astā | oṁ ūrdhvadhanvā pratihitābhir asthā balavījñāyas sthavira-[8]ś pravīraḥ sahasvān vājī sahasāna ugrah abhivīro abhissatvā sahoji-[9]j jāitrāyāī ā rathān ā tiṣṭha kovidāṁ | imāṁ vīram anu harṣādhvam ugram indraṁ satvāno [10] anu saṁrabhadhvam | grāmajitām gojitaṁ vajrabāhuṁ jayantam ajmā pramṛṇantam oja-[11]sā | abhi gottrāni sahasā gāhamīno madāyur ugrāś catamatsur indrah duśṣya-[12]vanaś pṛtanāśād ayodhyo ssākam senā avatu pra yutsu | vr̄haspatī pari dīyā [13] rathena rakṣohāmitrān apabādhamānāḥ prabhañjān satrīn pramṛṇān amitrān asmā-[14]kām edhyevitā tanūnām. | indra eṣāṁ nayatā vr̄haspatir dakṣiṇo yajñāś pura [15] etu somah devasenānām abhībhañjatīnām jayantīnām maruto yantu madhye | [16] indrasya vṛṣno marutusya rājñā ādityānām marutāṁ śardha ugraṁ | mahāmanasām [17] bhuvanacyavānām ghoṣo devānām jayatām ud astām. asmākam indras sa-[18]mr̄teṣu dhvajeṣu asmākam yā iṣavas tā jayantu | asmākam vīra uttare bhava-[19]tv asmān devāso vatā haveṣu z 4 z

Read: indrasya bāhū sthavirāu vṛṣānāu citrā imā vṛṣabhbāu pārayiṣnū | tā yokṣye prathamāu yoga āgate yābhyaṁ jitam asurānām svar yat z 1 z āśūś ūśāno vṛṣabho na bhīmo ghanā-ghanah kṣobhāś carṣānīnām | sañkrandano 'nimiṣa ekavīraś śatām senā ajayat sākam indraḥ z 2 z sañkrandanenānimiṣena jiṣṇunāyodhyena duṣ्यavanena dhṛṣṇunā | tad indreṇa jayata tat sahadhvām yudho nara iṣuhaſtēna vṛṣnā z 3 z sa iṣuhaſtāis sa niṣāngibhir vaſī saīnsraſtā sa yudha indro ganēna | saīn-ſrṣṭajit somapā bāhuśardhy ūrdhvadhanvā pratihitābhir astā z 4 z balavijñāya sthavirāś pravīrah sahasvān vājī sahamāna ugraḥ | abhivīro abhisatvā sahojīj jāitrāyendra ratham ā tiſṭha govidam z 5 z imām vīram anu harṣadhvam ugram indram satvāno anu saīnrabhadhvam | grāmajitam gojitatam vajrabāhūm jayantam ajma pramṛṇautam ojasā z 6 z abhi gotrāṇi sahasā gāhamāno adāya ugraś śatamanyur indraḥ | duṣ्यavānaś pṛta- nāśāl ayođhyo 'smākam senā avatu pra yutsu z 7 z vṝhaspate pari diyā rathena rakṣohāmitrāṇi apabādhamānāḥ | prabhañjaṇi śatrūn pramṛṇān amitrān asmākam edhy avitā tanūnām z 8 z indra eṣānī netā vṝhaspatiñ dakṣinā yajñāś pura etu somah | devasenānām abhibhañjatīnām jayantīnām maruto yantu madhye z 9 z indrasya vṝṣṇo varuṇasya rājña ādityānām marutānī śardha ugram | mahāmanasānī bhuvanacyavānām ghoṣo devānām jayatām ud asthāt z 10 z asinākam indras samṛteṣu dhvajeṣ asinākam yā iṣavas tā jayantu | asinākam vīrā uttare bhavantv asinān devāso 'vatā haveṣu z 11 z 4 z

The version restored here accords very closely with that of Š: the emendations are proposed the more confidently because of a growing belief that it will become clear that much of Š Bk 19 is drawn from Ppp, as was suggested by Roth, *Der AV in Kaschmir*, p. 18.

5

[f99a19] vāiśvanarād arocata jāto hira-[20]nyayo maṇih tam ābharad vṝhaspatih kasyapo vīryāya kām vṝhaspataṁs tam a-[f99b] kṛṇo maṇīm vāiśvānaram saha saptarṣayo balāya kām saṁ dadhus tvā vayodhasah viśe de-[2]vās tv indriyāṁ saptarṣayaś ca saṁ dadhuḥ jāto hiraṇyayo maṇir agner vāiśvānaraād adhi | [3] aśvatho jātaś prathamo gneś priyatamā tanūḥ vāiśvānaraśya srṣṭyā kṛtyādūsi-[4]ś krto maṇih kṛtyādūsiṁ tvāvi- dam kṛtyādūsiṁ bharāsi tvā kṛtyādūsiṁ kṛ-[5]nomi tvā

kṛtyādūṣīṁ vayodhasam | patattrī pakṣī balavān kṛtyādūṣis
 sa-[6] pūtnahā nitanni viśvabheṣaja ugraś patiko manīḥ patattrī
 te balāya [7] kāṁ nitannir bheṣajāya te | jāto hiraṇyayo manīr
 apa rakṣānsi sedhatu | de-[8]vo manīś sapatnahā rakṣohāmī-
 vacātanaḥ hiraṇmayam naramśmāna kaśya-[9] penābhṛtaṁ saha |
 vāiśvānaram te namekamī āhur agner yones saha candreṇa
 jātam [10] gayasphānaś pratarāṇo vadhadhaś kṛtyādūṣir bala-
 gahāsy ugraḥ yasyedam bhūmyā-[11]m adhi niṣkrāntam pāṇ-
 sure padam | mṛḍā nas tanno yad rūpas tasyasnāhi tanūradhī |
 [12] dūsā tvāvidaiḥ vayaṁ devasya savitus save | jīvātave
 bharāmāsi mahyā [13] arīṣatātaye | āśchedanaś pratyedano
 dviṣatas tapano manīś śatruñjayas sa-[14] patnahā dviṣantam
 apa bādhataṁ. z 5 z a 1 z

Read: vāiśvānarād arocata jāto hiraṇyayo manīḥ | tam
 ābharad vṛhaspatih kaśyapo vīryāya kam z 1 z vṛhaspatis tam
 akṛṇod manīṁ vāiśvānaram saha | saptarṣayo balāya kāṁ sam
 dadhuḥ tvā vayodhasah z 2 z viśve devās tv indriyaiḥ saptar-
 ṣayaś ca sam dadhuḥ | jāto hiraṇyayo manīr agner vāiśvānarād
 adhi z 3 z aśvatho jātaś prathamo 'gneś priyatamā tanūḥ |
 vāiśvānarasya sṛṣṭyā kṛtyādūṣiś kṛto manīḥ z 4 z kṛtyādūṣīṁ
 tvāvidaiḥ kṛtyādūṣīṁ bharāmi tvā | kṛtyādūṣīṁ kṛnomi tvā
 kṛtyādūṣīṁ vayodhasam z 5 z patatrī pakṣī balavān kṛtyādūṣis
 sapatnahā | nitunnir viśvabheṣaja ugraś patiko manīḥ z 6 z
 patatrī te balāya kāṁ nitunnir bheṣajāya te | jāto hiraṇyayo
 manīr apa rakṣānsi sedhatu z 7 z devo manīś sapatnahā rakṣohā-
 mīvacātanaḥ | hiraṇmayam taramśmāna kaśyapenābhṛtaṁ saha
 z 8 z vāiśvānaram te nāmāikam āhur agner yones saha candreṇa
 jātam | gayasphānaś pratarāṇo vayodhaś kṛtyādūṣir valagahāsy
 ugraḥ z 9 z yasyedam bhūmyām adhi niṣkrāntam pāṇsure padam
 | mṛḍā nas tanvo yad rapas tasyasnāhi tanūvasin z 10 z dūsāṁ
 tvā vidma vayaṁ devasya savitus save | jīvātave bharāmāsi
 mahyā arīṣatātaye z 11 z āśchedanaś prāchedano dviṣatas
 tapano manīḥ | śatruñjayas sapatnahā dviṣantam apabādhataṁ
 z 12 z 5 z anu 1 z

In 6c and 7b nitunnir is a conjecture which may be found acceptable: patiko I would regard as a variant form of pataka. In 8c we might consider as a possibility araśmānaṁ; the two hemistichs do not hang together well. For 9c cf RV 1. 91. 19c; for 11b cf RV 5. 82. 6b etc; for 12b cf § 19. 28 passim; and for 12d cf SMB 1. 2. 1c.

6

[f99b14] *patyasya sthū-[15]nā prthivī dādhāra ṛtena devā amṛtām anv avindan. | dhruvena tvā ha-[16] haviṣā dhārayāmy abhi tad dyāvāprthivī ghrṇitām*

In a we may probably read *patyasya sthūnāh*; in b *tena* and *amṛtam*, tho *ṛtena* would seem possible; the form suggested is Ś 13. 1. 7d. In c read *dhruvena* and *haviṣā*, in d *gr̄nitām*; our d is RV 10. 47. 8c.

yebhir homāir viśva-[17]karmū dadhāremām prthivīm mātaram nah | tebhiṣ tvā homāir iha dhārayā-[18]m ṛcam satyam anu carantu homāḥ

In b read *dādhāre*°, in cd probably *dhārayāmy* *ṛtam*.

iha dhriyadhvam dhurune prthivyā uśatyā [19] mātus subhāgāyā upasthe | aparāṇutvā sahasā modamānā asmi-[20]n vāstāu suprajāsāu bhavātha |

In c I would suggest *upārṇudhvam*; in d read *suprajaso* (the stem *supraja* seems not quotable in AV). Note Ś 14. 2. 43b *hasāmudāu mahasā modamānāu*.

suprajāsāu sahasā modamānā varṣman prthi-[f100a]vyā upari śrayadhvam | asyāi sālāyāi śarma yacchantu devā dhārābhīr enām prthivī pi-[2]partu |

Read *suprajaso* *mahasā* in a: *mahasā* also in st 3c.

imām sālām śrāiṣṭhyatamām vasānām arīṣṭavīrām abhi sañ-carema | dṛḍhā ta-[3]pasito bhavantu sthīrāvīrā upasado bhavantu |

The ms corrects to *dṛḍhā u*° in c. In a read *śrāiṣṭhyatamām*; in c *upamito*, in d *sthīravīrā*. The insertion of *asyā* at the beginning of c would improve the pāda.

imām sālām savitā vāyu-[4]r indro vṝhaspatin nimnotu prajānan. | ukṣamitūrnā maruto ghr̄tena bhago no rājā ni [5] kṛṣam dadātu |

Read: *imām sālām savitā vāyur indro vṝhaspatir ni minotu prajānan | uechāntūnnā maruto ghr̄tena bhago no rājā ni kṛṣiñ dadātu z 6 z*

This is Ś 3. 12. 4; but Ś has *tanotu* in d.

mānasya patni haviṣo juṣasva tīvrāntasya bahulamadhyamasya | [6] ā tvā śaśir vādhyatām ā kumāra ā vābhyanṭām dhenavo nityavatsāḥ

Read: *mānasya patni haviṣo juṣasva tīvrāntasya bahula-*

madhyamasya | ā tvā śiśur vāśyatām ā kumāra ā vāśyatām
dhenavo nityavatsāḥ z 7 z

With our cd compare Ś 3. 12. 3ed and also PG 3. 4. 4.

drdhās te sthūnā [7] bhavantu bhūmyām adhi drdhāh pakṣāsas
tavidhe viśāle | sthiravīrā annasi-[8]tā na edhi | śarma no yaścha
dvipade catuṣpade |

Read taviṣe in b; in c probably sthiravīrānna°; delete colon after edhi, and read yaccha in d.

śālā devī gārhāpatyāya ca-[9]klipe tṛṇām vasānā jagatī śusevā
| sthirāngām tvā sthirapāruṣān asya pa-[10]ttriḥ sthirā tvā
vīrā abhi sañcarema |

Read caklpe in a, tṛṇām and suśevā in b: in c °ngām and °pāruṣām, but for asya pattriḥ I can suggest nothing.

vāstos pate prati jānīhy asmān dvāveśo [11] anamīvo na edhi
| yan tvemāhe prītānas taj juṣasva catuṣpado dvipadā vesi
e-[12]ha z 1 z

Read: vāstos pate prati jānīhy asmān svāveśo anamīvo na edhi | yan tvemāhe prītānas taj juṣasva catuṣpado dvipadā ā veśayeha z 10 z 1 z

For this stanza see RV 7. 54. 1, etc., but with a different pāda d: Kāuś 43. 13 quotes the stanza as here. Pāda d is Ś 13. 1. 2d.

7

[f100a12] darbhogra oṣadhīnām śatakāṇḍo ajāyata | sahasra-
[13]viryaṣ pari ṇaṣ pāṭu viśvataḥ

Over sahasra the ms has a correction mamahasavīryah.

Read darbha ugra in a; for c maṇīḥ sahasra°. Ś 2. 4. 2 has the second hemistich as here; in general cf Ś 19. 32.

yathā bharbho ajāyamānas tvacām bhināntya [14] bhūmyām
| evāsyā bhidyatām jano yo nah pāpām cikitsati |

Read darbho jāyamānas in a, and bhinatti bhūmyāḥ in b.

apa nāṭram a-[15]pa krtyām apa rakṣasya dhānvā amīvās
c * * * * * sarvānś ca yātu-[16]dhānah

Read rakṣānśi dhanvā in b: in cd cātayāmasi sarvāś ca yātudhānyah. Tho the ms is defaced, enough 'traces of letters remain to give a basis for restoration. At the end of pāda d the ms interlines the correction nyah.

asthi vāi nivata udvalaīn na vāi sarvam anuplavam | asi tvam
tasya dūṣa-[17]no yo nah pāpām cikitsati |

With asti in a the first hemistich might stand; and asti would seem rather better than asi.

*pari sāyām pari prātaś pari madhyandinām pa-[18]ri garbho
hiranyahastaghnaś pari ḡaś pātu viśvataḥ*

Read madliyāmīdinām in b; and uta for pari at the end of b would be better but perhaps is not necessary. In c read darbho.

*girāu jātas svarāśi [19] sākām somena babhrūnā | mā pāpaku-
tvanaś śikho mā pākaś puru-[f100b] so ri ḡaś pātu vidvataḥ z*

In a svarād asi might be better than svarāsi (from svr). In c we might read śiśur for śikho, and in d pākaś puruśo riśat: in e read pari and viśvataḥ.

*sahasrakāñḍas tāviśas tīkṣṇavalśo viśāsahi | [2] garbhēṇa
sarpā rakṣāṇsy asīvāś cāpadhāmāśi |*

In b read viśāsahih, in c darbhēṇa sarpān, in d amīvāś.

*apadugdhami duśvapni apada-[3]gdmā arātayaḥ sarvāś ca
yātudhānyāḥi*

For a read apadagdhami duśvapnyam: in c sarvāś.

*mā tvā dubhan yātudhānān sā [4] sā dhradhniś śakuniś
patham. durbho rājā samudriyaś pari ḡaś pātu vi-[5]śvataḥ z
2 z*

Read: mā tvā dabhan yātudhānā mā grdhnuś śakuniś patan | darbho rājā samudriyaś pari ḡaś pātu viśvataḥ z 9 z 2 z

8

*[f100b5] yo ḡaś pāpēna vacasā ghoṣatōdṛkta vṛvat. | [6] ārāś
chapatam aprāsmīm upanadyātu sarvataḥ |*

In b perhaps we may read °odrikto 'bravat; in c ārāc chapatham, and possibly ā parasmād, or better apāsmād; in d apa-nudyatu.

*yan naś śapād varuṇo ya-[7]t sapatniś śvaśrūr vā yaś chva-
śuro vā śapāti ; jyāyasaś capathān vayi-[8]yavainām yāvayā-
masi |*

Read: yan naś śapād varo no yat sapatnī śvaśrūr vā yae chvaśuro vā śapāti | jyāyasaś śapathān vā ye avāinān yāvayāmasi z 2 z

*yām samasyante pathān vākṣamipānṛtyām adhi | yuraṁ [9]
tam bibhrad vāhvo pūrvāś pratisṛṣṇiyatām |*

For ab it would seem possible to read yān samasyante śapathān yān śapān anṛtān adhi. In c if yuvām is correct it might be

followed by tān bibhrad vāhyo, or bibhradvāhyāu; for d we then would read pūrvā pratiśrīnyātām.

rjukeśo yavo ma babhrūr maghavā [10] *no na sābhya hiran-*
yadhanvān śapathām tupejatu tām pītvendro vṛtrām śakno
jaghā-[11] *na* |

For ab a probable reading is *rjukeśo yavas sa babhrur maghavā no na sādhyah*. For c we might read *hiranyadhanvā śapathām tv apejatu*; in d read *tām* and *vṛtrām śakno*: in the right margin the ms indicates the correction *kra* for *kno*.

vāsava sāiśāhyata ṛṣabhas sahasvān śapathān iva | *ārā carantu*
śapathā [12] *itā ito jihvōditārasās santu sarve* |

In a there may be some form of *sah*, but I can suggest nothing satisfactory; in b *sahasvān* is probable. In c read *ārāc*, in de *ita ito jihvōditā* *arasās*.

nāsagrām hā vāco heṭād i-[13]*kṣitā* | *aghoracakṣasa śarma te*
varma kṛṇmāsi |

In the first part of this I can suggest nothing beyond the division of the words: read *aghoracakṣasaś*.

apāñco yantu śapathā-[14]*d anenāstāghāyunā* | *yo no dur-*
asyān jīvase senā nākasyeṣe | [15]

Read *apāñco*, and probably *śapathā anenāstā aghāyunā*. In c *durasyan* is probable, and if *jīvase* is a verb the third person *jīvati* would seem better; for the rest I can see only *īṣate* at the end.

pari pātu śapathā | *d anṛtād duritād uta* | *pari mā jyāyasaś*
śān-[16]*sād divo rakṣatu mām iṣām* |

Read: *pari mā pātu śapathād anṛtād duritād uta* | *pari mā*
jyāyasaś śāsād devo rakṣatu mām iṣām z 8 z

The end of d may not be good, but it seems possible: *imām* would be better.

anāsta yajñām śapathāir anuci vyāddhyam kṛtaṁ | [17]
vṛhada varma prati muñcāmi te |

In a read *anāstām* rather than *anvāsta*; in b *anūci* *vyādhyam* would seem possible if *vyādhyam* can be a noun: read *vṛhad varma*.

yuvamītardhyayāyāñśiva pakṣaṇā-[18]*viśantu patattrīnaś śap-*
atāram śapathāś punah z 3 z

Read: *tyuvamītardhyayāyāñśivat pakṣinah* | ā *viśantu patattrīnaś śap-*
atāram śapathāś punah z 10 z 3 z

The text in a looks somewhat like that of 3c above; both *pādas* seem hopeless.

9

(§ 5. 7)

[f100b18] *a no di-[19]śām sā pari śṭhārāter mā nor·dakṣāir daksinā yātumāvān punah pra jātā [f101a] savitā ca yaśchatām nasor vīraśchāyāśamrddhyāi ca kṛṇvā* |

Read: ā no diśā mā pari śṭhā arāte mā no dhaksir daksinām yātumāvān | punah pra dhātā savitā ca yaechatām namo vīrt-sāyā asamrddhyāi ca kṛṇvāh z 1 z

This varies greatly from Š, having an entirely different cd: the gender of yātumāvān is not consistent with a and d.

yam arāte purodhatsvāi puru-[2]rāpṛṇām | namas te tasmāi kṛṇo mā vanīm mama vyathāh

Read: yam arāte purodhatsē puruṣām parirāpṛṇām | namas te tasmāi kṛṇmo mā vanīm mama vyathāh z 2 z

Š has ^orāpiṇām in b; perhaps it should stand here also.

anavāndyābhiṣ prayuñjma-[3]he manasā hṛdayena ca | arātī tanvo māt vīriśche diśchantaṁ parirāpṛṇī [4]

In a anavadyābhiṣ would seem possible; in cd read arāte and vīrtser dītsantam: tanvām would be better than tanvo. This is not in Š.

pr no vanir devakṛtā divā naktām ca siddhyatu | rātim anupreme vayam namo stv a-[5]rāyataye |

In a read pra no, in b sidhyatu: in c arātim, in d 'stv arātaye.

uta nagna āpobharati svapnayā sṛjesc canām | rāte citti vīri-[6]śchiāndy ākūtiān puruṣasya ca |

Read: uta nagnā bobhuvatī svapnayā sṛjase janām | arāte cittām vīrtsyanty ākūtiān puruṣasya ca z 5 z

paro mehy asimrddhe mṛte hetīm nayāmasi | yam dvi-[7]smas tam vimvakāvya bhūtvā sṛgmaṇi rukmaṇi drśet.

For ab we may probably read paro mehy asamrddhe vi te hetīm nayāmasi; cf Š 7ab where páro 'pehy stands. If we may read viśvakāvya and sragmaṇi, the rest might stand.

namas te stu samrddhe [8] māmāhām purodhīm kṛṇv atha varmī tvāhām namīvantīm nutadantīm mā te martyām sa-[9] santyebhyo adhi nirvudantīm

It seems that samrddhe is correct here, not asamrddhe; if so the next pāda might possibly be māmāhāhā puramādhīm kṛṇv: these suggestions are made to seem the more doubtful by the following words which are in part parallel to Š 7cd where tvā refers to asamrddhi. It seems clear that Ppp intends nimīvantīm

nitudantīn, and probably arāte for mā te; amartyān martyebhyo might be possible. For atha varmī one might think of atha vanve, or perhaps vṛṇve.

mā no vanīm mā vācam vīriścam ugrāv indrāgnī [10] nām bhajatām vasūni sarve no dya diśchatta arātiṁ prati haryatām

Read vṛtsir in a, and na ā in b; in e ditsanto, and in e no 'dya and haryatā.

sa vadā-[11]ni devānām devadūtiṣu |

These words are all that the ms gives to correspond to Ś st 4. The stanza in Ś reads, sarasvatīm anumatīm bhagam yanto havāmahe | vācām juṣṭām madhumatīm avādiṣām devānām devahūtiṣu.

yam vācā mama kuryāj jihvayoṣṭhāpidhā-[12]nayā | śraddha cam adya vindatu dattās somena babhrūṇā z 4 z

Read: *yam vācā mama kuryāj jihvayāuṣṭhāpidhānayā | śraddhā tam adya vindatu dattā somena babhrūṇā z 10 z 4 z*

The first hemistich in Ś st 5 is *yam yācāmy ahāni vācā sarasvatyā manoyujā*: our pāda a seems possible but if it should be emended to *yam yācāmi* then makuryāj may conceal an instrumental agreeing with *jihvayā*, or parallel to it.

10

(Ś 19. 39)

[f101a13] *āitu devas trāyamāṇa kuṣṭho himavatas pari | takmānam sarvam nāśayam sa-[14]rvāś ca yātudhāvyah trīṇi te kuṣṭha nāmāni naghāmāro naghāriṣo na ghā-[15]yam puruṣo riṣat. | asmāi pari vravīmi tvā sāyam prātar atho divah jī-[16] valā nāma te mātā jivanto nāma te pitā | mārsā nāma te śvāsāh u-[17]ttamo sy oṣadhiṇām anaḍvāṇ jagatām iva | vyāgra svapadām iva naghāyam [18] puruṣo riṣat. | asmāi pari vravīmi tvā sāyam prātar atho divah ti-[19]ṣyāmividyo girayebhyas trir ādityebhyas pari | trir jāto viśvadevebhyas sa [f101b] kuṣṭho viśvabheṣaja | sākām somena tiṣṭhasi takmānam sarvam nāśayam sarvāś ca yātu-[2]dhānyah aśvattho devasadanās tṛṭīyasyām itāu divi | tatrāmr̥tasya cakṣāṇam tva-[3]ś kuṣṭho jāyatāt saḥ hirānye non acarad dhirānyardhāndhanā divi | sa yatra nava-[4]ś paribhṛāṣāṇam yatra himavataś śirah tatrāmr̥tasya cakṣāṇam tatas kuṣṭho ajāya-[5]ta | sa kuṣṭham viśvabheṣaja sākām somena tiṣṭhasi | takmānam sarvam nāśayam sarvā-[6]ś ca*

*yātudhānyah yām tvā veda pūrvakṣvāko yām vā tvā kuṣṭhikāś
ca ahiṣyā-[7] vaso anusāriścas tenāsi viśvabheṣajah śīrṣālākam
tṛtyakam sa-[8] dantī yaś ca hāyanah takmānam viśvadhāvīryā
adharāñcam parā suvah z [9] z 5 z anu 2 z*

Read: āitu devas trāyamāṇah kuṣṭho himavatas pari | takmānam sarvaiḥ nāśayan sarvāś ca yātudhānyah z 1 z trīṇi te kuṣṭha nāmāni naghāmāro naghāriṣo na ghāyaiḥ puruṣo riṣat | asmāi pari vravīmi tvā sāyaṇi-prātar atho divā z 2 z jīvalā nāma te mātā jivanto nāma te pitā mārsā nāma te svasā | na ghāyaiḥ puruṣo riṣat | asmāi ° ° z 3 z uttamo 'sy oṣadhiṇām anādvāṇ jagatām iva vyāghraś śvapadām iva | na ghāyaiḥ puruṣo riṣat | asmāi pari vravīmi tvā sāyaṇi-prātar atho divā z 4 z triś sāṁbu-bhyo 'ñigrebhyas trir ādityebhyas pari | trir jāto viśvadeve-bhyah | sa kuṣṭha viśvabheṣaja sākām somena tiṣṭhasi | takmā-nāni sarvaiḥ nāśayan sarvāś ca yātudhānyah z 5 z aśvattho devasadanās tṛtyāyām ito divi | tatrāṁṛtasya cakṣaṇām tataś kuṣṭho 'jāyata | sa kuṣṭha ° ° | takmānam ° ° z 6 z hiraṇyayi nāur acarād dhirāṇyabandhanā divi | tatrā ° ° | sa kuṣṭha ° ° | takmānam ° z 7 z yatra nāvaṣ prabhrauśanām yatra himavataś śīraḥ | tatrāṁṛtasya cakṣaṇām tataś kuṣṭho ajāyata | sa kuṣṭha viśvabheṣaja sākām somena tiṣṭhasi | takmānam sarvaiḥ nāśayan sarvāś ca yātudhānyah z 8 z yām tvā veda pūrva ikṣvāko yām vā tvā kuṣṭhikāś ca | tāhiṣyāvāso anusāriścas tenāsi viśvabheṣajah z 9 z śīrṣālākam tṛtyakam sadandir yaś ca hāyanah | takmānam viśvadhāvīryādharāñcam parā suva z 10 z 5 z anu 2 z

There are a number of variations from Ś here. In 5a sāṁbu-bhyo is adopted on the testimony of the Ś mss, which also seem to support the form 'ñigrebhyas; 5d is emended to harmonize with the tiṣṭhasi of 5e. The most important variation is in giving 5d-g with stt 6 and 7; this seems to be indicated by the ms in f101b3 by the saḥ before hiraṇye and the sa before yatra. In 9ab I have merely tried to keep close to the ms: in 10a śīrṣālākam is probably correct but its meaning is not clear.

11

Cf Ś 3. 21. 10, RV 10. 162 passim, and MG 2. 18. 2 passim.

[f101b9] *ye parvatās somapṛṣṭhāpa uttānaśi-[10] vari | vātaṣ
parjanyād agnis te kravyādām aśīśamām | yas te hantu carāca-
[11]ram utthāsyantām sarīṣṛpam. garbhām yo daśamāsyam*

tam ito nāśayāmasi | [12] yad agnibhyapsaraso gandharvām
 gehya uta | kravyādō mūradevenas tāy ito [13] nāśayāmasi | yas
 tā urv ārohaty asrk te rehaṇāya kaiñ | āmādaś kravyā-[14]dhe
 ripuṇs tāy ito nāśayāmasi | yas te śronī vyāvayaty antarā dampatī [15] śaye | yonī yo antar ārelhi tam ito nāśayāmasi | yas
 tvā svapnena ta-[16]masā mohayitvā nipadyate | rāyām kaṇvām
 pāpmānām tam ito nāśayā-[17]masi | hā hī kharva khalute
 nāigur akarṇa tuṇḍila | indraś ca tigmasā-[18]yudham tena tvā
 nāśayāmasi | nasas tāndāya namaś kusumāya namaś pra-[19]
 diṣṭhāmne namaś kaśyade namaś tubhyām nirṛte viśvavāre jale
 mām dhāpaye [20] tām viśvarūpām yāvad dyāur yāvāt prthivī¹
 yāvāt payeti sūryah tāvatvam u-[f102a]m ugra lulguļo parīmām
 pāhi viśvataḥ z 1 z

In the left margin opposite the first two lines the ms has rakṣāmantrām. Line 18 is slightly defaced.

Read: ye pārvatās somapṛṣṭhā āpa uttānaśīvarīḥ | vātaś parjanya ād agnis te kravyādām aśīśaman z 1 z yas te hanti carācaram utthāsyantām sarīśpam | garbham yo daśamāśyam tam ito nāśayāmasi z 2 z yad agnibhyo ‘psaraso gandharvā gehyā uta | kravyādō mūradevinas tāñ ito nāśayāmasi z 3 z yas ta ūrv ārohaty asrk te rehaṇāya kam | āmādaś kravyādō ripuṇs tāñ ito nāśayāmasi z 4 z yas te śronī vyavāity antarā dampatī śaye | yonim yo antar ārelhi tam ito nāśayāmasi z 5 z yas tvā svapnena tamasā mohayitvā nipadyate | arāyām kaṇvām pāpmānām tam ito nāśayāmasi z 6 z hā hī kharva khalite tñāigur akarṇa tuṇḍila | indrasya tigmam āyudham tena tvā nāśayāmasi z 7 z namaś tuṇḍāya namaś kusumāya namaś pratīṣṭhāmne namaś tkaśyade | namaś tubhyām nirṛte viśvavāre jale sañ dhāpaye tām viśvarūpām z 8 z yāvad dyāur yāvāt prthivī yāvāt paryeti sūryah | tāvat tvam ugra gulguļo parīmām pāhi viśvataḥ z 9 z 1 z

In st 7b nijur or even nāijur might be read: in 8b pratīṣṭhāmne is probably good but for kaśyade I can think of nothing: in 8d we might consider jvāle instead of jale.

12

[f102a1] yāikarāgnīm ekavrata-[2]m ekasthām ekaśāmikām |
 pājām sannacātanām jāitrāyāśchāvadāmasi | [3] yāikarājñī
 ekavrata ekasthā ekaśāmike | na tvā sapatnī sasaha śai re-[4]
 cana vāhyā uttarāham tattarabhyo uttared adharabhyah adhas
 sapatnī sāmakty adha-[5]red adhārabhyah na sāindhavasya puṣ-

pasya sūryo snāpayati tvacām. pāte snāpa-[6]yātvayā sapatnā varcādadhe | na vāi pāte pāte vahasi subhagamkaranīd a-[7]si pāte bhagamya no dheyatho mā mahiśiñ kṛṇu | yat pāte adha vrkṣe vātapla-[8]vā mahiyame | jayantī pratyātiṣṭhantī sañjayā nāma vāsi | uttānapa-[9]rṇām subhagām sahamānām sahasvatīm | aśchā vṛhadvadā vada pāṭām śapatna-[10]cātanīm pāṭām ivy aśnān hantavā amurebhyah tayā sapatnyām sāksīya mahe-[11]ndro dānavān iva | pājā bibharty añkuśam hiranyavantam añkinam | tena sapatnyā [12] varca ālumpasi samedhamat. imām khanāmy oṣadhiñ vīrudhām balavatta-[13]mām athā sapatnīm bādhate kṛṇute kevalam patim. z 2 z

Read: ekarājñīm ekavratām ekasthām ekalāmikām | pāṭām sapatnacātanīm jāitrāyāccchāvadāmasi z 1 z ekarājñī ekavratā ekastha ekalāmike | na tvā sapatnī sasāha tśāi recana vāhyāt z 2 z uttarāham uttarābhya uttared adharābhyaḥ | adhas sapatnī tśāmaky adhared adharābhyaḥ z 3 z na sāindhavasya puṣpasya sūryaḥ snāpayati tvacā | pāte snāpayatu tvayā sapatnyā varca ādade z 4 z na vāi pativahāsi subhagaiñkaranīd asi | pāte bhagam ā no dhehy atho mā mahiśiñ kṛṇu z 5 z yat pāte adho vrñkṣe vātaplavā mahiyase | jayantī pratyātiṣṭhantī sañjayā nāma vā asi z 6 z uttānaparṇām subhagām sahamānām sahasvatīm | acchā vṛhadvadām vada pāṭām sapatnīcātanīm z 7 z pāṭām indro vyāśnād dhantavā asurebhyah | tayā sapatnīm sāksīya mahendro dānavān iva z 8 z pāṭā bibharty añkuśam hiranyavantam añkinam | tena sapatnyā varca ālumpasi samedhamat z 9 z imām khanāmy oṣadhiñ vīrudhām balavattamām | athā sapatnīm bādhate kṛṇute kevalam patim z 10 z 2 z

The word ekalāsikā, or ekamālikā, might be better than ekalāmikā as given in stt 1 and 2. Our st 3 is an interesting variant of S 3. 18. 4; sāsakty would seem quite possible in pāda c, intensive of sañj; Edgerton suggests māmaky. Our st 8 has some similarity to S 2. 27. 4 and 5 (Ppp 2. 16. 3). For our st 10 cf S 3. 18. 1 and 2.

13

[f102a14] *yāsām ārād āghoṣāso vātasyāi prthag yataḥ tāsām sanvanām indra apa-[15]kṛtaś chirāḥ yāś purustād ācaranti sākām sūryasya raśmībhiḥ yā vācam a-[16]nasavyaṇīny antarikṣed adho divaḥ yāsām preñkhyo divi vṛddho antarikṣe hi-[17] ranyayah yāś patanti vātarathād uttānāś pādaghātinīm vrksam parisa-[18]rpanti sā cakṣu karikrati | yāś ca tvā riṣām gaśchanti*

vikumbhāś celanāśinī | [19] yāśānī siktavām iśur gr̄ho mito
 hiranyayāḥ yā rokāiś papadyante pu-[20]śkalāir iva jāmaya |
 yā nadīś pratigāhayante saṁrabhya kanyā vayaḥ yā-[f102b]s
 tīrthan avagāhante ghnyā svaśitīr iva | yāś samudrād uścaranty
 uścāir ghośān kāṇikrati | ā-[2]gaśchāntī janānī janam iśchāntīs
 prahitān bahu | tāśānī sunvatām indro apakṛtaś chirāḥ [3] z
 3 z

Read: yāśām ārād āghośāso vātasyeva pṛthag yataḥ | tāśānī
 śvanvatānām indro apakṛntac chirāḥ z 1 z yāś purastād ācaranti
 sākānī sūryasya raśmibhiḥ | tāśānī ° ° z 2 z yā vācam tāna-
 savyamny antarikṣād atho divāḥ | tāśānī ° ° z 3 z yāśām
 preñkho divi vṛddho antarikṣe hiranyayāḥ | tāśānī ° ° z 4 z
 yāś patanti vātarathād uttānāś pādaghātiniḥ | tāśānī ° ° z 5 z
 yā vṛkṣām parisarpanti tāśā cakṣuṭ karikrati | tāśānī ° ° z 6
 z yāś ca tvā riśānī gacchānti vikumbhāś celanāśinīḥ | tāśānī ° °
 z 7 z yāśānī sīkatāvān iśur gr̄ho mito hiranyayāḥ | tāśānī ° ° z
 8 z yā rokāiś prapadyante puśkalāir iva jāmayaḥ | tāśānī ° °
 z 9 z yā nadīś pratigāhante saṁrabhya kanyayā vayaḥ | tāśānī ° °
 z 10 z yāś tīrthām avagāhante 'ghnyaś śvasatīr iva | tāśānī ° °
 z 11 z yāś samudrād uccāranti uccāir ghośān karikrati |
 āgacchāntī janānī-janam iśchāntīs prahitān bahu | tāśānī śvan-
 vatānām indro apakṛntac chirāḥ z 12 z 3 z

14

CF TS 2. 3. 10. 3, and KS 11. 7

[f102b3] agnir āyuṣmān sa vanaspatibhir āyuṣmān. sa
 māyuṣmān āyu-[4]śmantān kṛṇotu | vāyur āyuṣmān so antarik-
 ṣenāyuṣmān. sūrya āyuṣmān sa di-[5]vāyusmān. | candra āyuṣ-
 mān sa nakṣattrāir āyuṣmān. soma āyuṣmān sa oṣa-[6]dhibhir
 āyuṣmān. yajña āyuṣmān sa dakṣinābhir āyuṣmān. samudra
 āyuṣmā-[7]n sa nadībhir āyuṣmān. indreṇāyuṣmān sa vīryenā-
 yuṣmān. vrahmāyuṣmā-[8]t tād vrahmacāribhir āyuṣmān.
 tan māyuṣmā āyuṣmantān kṛṇotu | devā āyu-[9]śmantas te
 mr̄tenāyuṣmantāḥ tesā āyuṣmantā āyuṣmantā kṛṇuta | prajāpati-
 [10]r āyuṣmān sa prajābhir āyuṣmān. sa māyuṣmān āyuṣ kṛṇta
 kṛṇotu z 4 z [11]

In the left margin, opposite line 8, is a correction śmannāyu.

Read: agnir āyuṣmān sa vanaspatibhir āyuṣmān | sa māyuṣ-
 mān āyuṣmantān kṛṇotu z 1 z vāyur āyuṣmān so antarikṣenā-
 yuṣmān | sa ° ° z 2 z sūrya āyuṣmān sa divāyuṣmān | sa

◦ ◦ z 3 z candra āyuṣmān sa naksatrāir āyuṣmān | sa ◦ ◦
 z 4 z soma āyuṣmān sa oṣadhibhir āyuṣmān | sa ◦ ◦ z 5 z
 yajñā āyuṣmān sa dakṣinābhīr āyuṣmān | sa ◦ ◦ z 6 z samu-
 dra āyuṣmān sa nadibhir āyuṣmān | sa ◦ ◦ z 7 z indra āyuṣ-
 mān sa vīryenāyuṣmān | sa ◦ ◦ z 8 z vrahmāyuṣmat tad
 vrahmacāribhir āyuṣmat | tan māyuṣmad āyuṣmantām kṛṇotu z
 9 z devā āyuṣmantas te ‘mṛtenāyuṣmantah | te māyuṣmantā
 āyuṣmantām kṛṇvantu z 10 z praṭāpatir āyuṣmān sa praṭābhīr
 āyuṣmān | sa māyuṣmān āyuṣmantām kṛṇotu z 11 z 4 z

15

[f102b11] *dakṣinā sā dakṣinato daksinās pātu savyatas paśsād
 anavyādhāt pātu sa-[12] rvasyā bhavahetyā |*

Read: dakṣinā mā dakṣinato dakṣinā pātu savyataḥ | paścād
 anuvyādhāt pātu sarvasyā bhavahetyāḥ z 1 z

This stanza occurs Ppp 2. 85. 3, but was not successfully
 treated in that place.

*paśunā tvām paśupate dvipāddattā catuṣpadā | ātmanva-[13]
 tī dākṣinā prāṇadattā prāṇe hi*

Here I would suggest dvipaddattā in b, with pātu understood;
 and in d prāṇena hi. These suggestions are in harmony with
 what seems to be the intent of the hymn.

*yām dadhāsi yaddhadāno dākṣinām [14] vrāhmaṇakṛte | sā
 tvā yakṣmāt pārayaty agne santāpād divyasya śokā*

Read śraddadāhāno in a. agnes and śokāt in d.

*da-[15] dāmīmām dākṣinām ātāmamaś chalyābhya yākṣmād vi-
 barhā moyayaṇte | karṇa-[16] śīlam upahatyārātis sarve yakṣmā
 upa tiṣṭhantu sākām*

At the end of a there is probably a reference to the ācamana
 rite, but I cannot suggest a good reading. In b read chalyād
 and mocayante: in c karṇaśīlam, if it is a correct form, would
 seem to indicate some disease of the ear: read °ārātis.

*anyena prāṇī [17] vanute tirodhatte paridhānena yakṣmā
 hiraṇyam aśvām gām dadatu kṛṇute va-[18] rma dākṣinā |*

The ms interlines a correction, dā, over dadatu.

At the end of b yakṣmāt seems probable; in c read dadātu.
 Possibly there is a corruption at the beginning of a.

*uṣṇiśāmtyā śīśaktyā dvāsas tvāt tam nāmayā candram hi-[19]
 rānyām mīthyā karṇād dattām śukram bhājātu*

Here I can offer no satisfactory suggestions. In a tvā śīśak-

tyā seems possible, for b dvāśas tvāt tan namayat: in cd I can see only words, and it is not at all clear that the end of the stanza is as indicated.

*vādhuryāt pātu dakṣiṇā | upa-[f103a] varhaṇāṁ kṛtvā grī-
vāṁ ayār maṇayo yaksmaḍ atravyā aṅgarogād*

In a bādhiryāt might stand; if the first pāda belongs with this stanza we should read dakṣinopa°, with colon after kṛtvā. For c we might read grīvāṁ me ayān maṇayo: bhrātrvyād might be considered in d but does not seem to fit the context.

*abhyāñjana manyantāṁ ni-[2]ś tvāṁ ayā adhampadā dāma-
yataḥ pado rogān upanahūḥ dāṇjas tvā dattaś pari pā-[3]tu
sarpā*

In a abhyāñjanai is possible, for b perhaps niś tvām ayā adhaspadā: in c read upānahāu, in d sarpāt.

*dakṣiṇataḥ preto dakṣinena | sātumanasum daksināṁ daksi-
māṇa iṣa-[4]m īrjam daksināṁ saṁvasīm , ghṛtasya dhārūm
ase pratīmā*

Pāda a can probably stand; in b dhokṣyamānah is perhaps the best suggestion: in d read avase pratīmāḥ. The second hemistich appears Ppp 5. 31. 8ed with bhāgasya in d. Punctuation is to be corrected.

*sahasrāṅgāṁ śatāṁ [5] jyotiṣāṁ hy asyā yajñasya paprir
amṛtā svargā ā netu dakṣiṇā viśvarūpā a-[6]hiṁsantī pratigṛh-
ṇīma enām z anu 3 z*

Read: sahasrāṅgā śatāṁ jyotiṣāṁ hy asyā yajñasya paprir amṛtā svargā ; ā na etu dakṣiṇā viśvarūpāhiṁsantī pratigṛhṇīma enām z 10 z 5 z anu 3 z

This is Ppp 5. 31. 9, which however has yajñiyasya in b; probably it should be read here also.

The first and last stanzas indicate the general intent of this hymn; the mention of the sandals, the staff, and probably the turban, seems to narrow the application to the occasion of initiation.

16

(§ 19. 17)

[f103a6] *agnir mā pātu vasubhi-[7]ś purastāt tasmin krame
tasmin yāṁ śrapaye thāṁ purāṁ vravīmi | sa mā rakṣatu sa mā
go-[8]pāyatu tasmatmānam pari dade svāhā z vāyur māntarik-
ṣena tasyā di-[9]śas somo mā rudrāih dakṣiṇāyā diśah varuṇa*

*mā natīn etasyā diśa-[10]s sūryo mā dyāvāprthivībhyaṁ prati-
cyā diśa apo soṣadhasitīr etasyā di-[11]śaś pāntu tāśu krame tā
ā śraye thāṁ purāṁ vravīmi | tā mā rakṣantu tā mā [12]
gopāyantu tābhyaṭutmānāṁ pari dade svāhā | viśvakarmā mā
saptarśibhi-[13]r udīcā diśaḥ indro mā marutvān etasyā diśaś
prajāpatiḥ mā praja-[14]nanavān saptabhiṣṭāyā dhruvāyā diśaḥ
vr̥haspatiḥ mā viśvāir devāir ūrdhvā [15] yā diśaś pātu tasmin
krame tasmiyām nraye thāṁ purāṁ vravīmi | sa mā ra-[16]kṣatu
sa mā gopayatu tasmātmānāṁ pari dade svāhā zz 1 zz [17]*

Read: agnir mā pātu vasubhiḥ purastāt tasmin krame tasmin
śraye tāṁ purāṁ prāimi | sa mā rakṣatu sa mā gopāyatu tasmā
ātmānāṁ pari dade svāhā z 1 z vāyur māntarikṣenāitasyā diśaś
pātu ° | ° z 2 z somo mā rudrāir dakṣināyā diśaś pātu °
| ° z 3 z varuno mādityāir etasyā diśaś pātu ° | ° z 4 z
sūryo mā dyāvāprthivībhyaṁ pratīcyā diśaś pātu ° | ° z
5 z āpo māuṣadhiimatīr etasyā diśaś pāntu tāśu krame tāśu
śraye tāṁ purāṁ prāimi | tā mā rakṣantu tā mā gopāyantu
tābhya ātmānāṁ pari dade svāhā z 6 z viśvakarmā mā saptar-
śibhiḥ udīcyā diśaś pātu ° | ° z 7 z indro mā marutvān
etasyā diśaś pātu ° | ° z 8 z prajāpatiḥ mā prajanaṇavān
sa pratiṣṭhāyā dhruvāyā diśaś pātu ° | ° z 9 z vr̥haspatiḥ
mā viśvāir devāir ūrdhvāyā diśaś pātu tasmin krame tasmin
śraye tāṁ purāṁ prāimi | sa mā rakṣatu sa mā gopāyatu tasmā
ātmānāṁ pari dade svāhā z 10 z 1 z

The text is restored, in places perhaps somewhat violently, to agree with Š; vravīmi of the Ppp ms offers the only occasion for doubts.

17

(Ś 19. 18)

[f103a17] agnīn te vasumantam r̥śchantu i māmaghāvayaś
prācyā diśo bhidāsān so-[18]mām te rudravantam r̥śchanta i
māghāyavo dakṣināyā diśo bhidāsān | va-[19]ruṇān tvāditya-
vantam r̥śchanta i māghāyava etasyā diśo bhidāsān sū-[f103b]
ryām te dyāvāprthivīvanta iśchanta i māghāyava etasyā diśo
bhidāsān viśvā-[2]karmānām te saptarśvantam r̥śchanta i mā-
ghāyava udīcyā diśo bhidāsān i-[3]ndram me marutvantam
r̥śchanta i māghāyava etasyā diśo bhidāsān prajāpatiḥ te pra-
[4]jananavantam r̥śchanta i māghāyavo dhruvāyā diśo bhidāsān
prajāpatiḥ pra [5] te prajanaṇavantam r̥śchanta i māghāyavo

*dhruvāyā diśo bhidāsānī vr̥ha-[6]spatiṁ te viśvedevāvāntam
r̥schanta i māghāyava ūrdhvā diśo bhidāsānī [7] z 2 z*

Read: agniin te vasumantam rechantu | ye māghāyavaś
prācyā diśo 'bhidāsānī z 1 z vāyūnī te 'ntarikṣavantam rechantu
| ye māghāyava etasyā diśo 'bhidāsānī z 2 z somaiṇī te rudravantam
rechantu | ye māghāyava daksināyā diśo 'bhidāsānī z 3 z
varuṇānī ta ādityavantam rechantu | ye māghāyava etasyā diśo
'bhidāsānī z 4 z sūryānī te dyāvāpṛthivīvantam rechantu | ye
māghāyavaś pratīcyā diśo 'bhidāsānī z 5 z apas ta oṣadhīmatīr
rechantu | ye māghāyava etasyā diśo 'bhidāsānī z 6 z viśvakar-
mānānī te saptarśivantam rechantu | ye māghāyava udīcyā diśo
'bhidāsānī z 7 z indraṇī te marutvantam rechantu | ye māghāyava
etasyā diśo 'bhidāsānī z 8 z prajāpatīnī te prajananavantam
rechantu | ye māghāyava dhruvāyā diśo 'bhidāsānī z 9 z vr̥has-
patīnī te viśvadevavantam rechantu | ye māghāyava ūrdhvāyā
diśo 'bhidāsānī z 10 z 2 z

Stt 2 and 6 are restored from § to establish the symmetry
between this hymn and the preceding. The variations of the
Ppp ms from the text as given in § are corruptions rather than
variant readings.

18

(§ 5. 8)

[f103b7] *vāikañkatenedhmena | devebhyā ājyānī vaha | ag-
naye thānn i-[8]ha sādaya sarvā yāntu me havānī*

Delete colon after pāda a; read agne tānī in e, and sarva ā
yantu in d.

*indrā yāhi me havānī idānī kariṣyāmī ta-[9]ś chṛṇu | imam
indrātirākūtī samī navāmbhū me | tebhiś śakrmaṇī vīryām jāta-
veda-[10]s tanūvāsiṁ*

Read havam in a, and tac in b: for cd imām indrātisarā ākū-
tim samī namantu me: in e śakema, in f ^cvasin.

*yad āsām amuco devādevā saś cikīṛṣati | vātasyāgnir ha-[11]
vyām sākṣīd dhavānī devās ca somapa gur mamāiva havam
etunāh*

Read: yad asāv amuto devā adevas saṁś cikīṛṣati | mā tasyāgnir
havyam sākṣīd dhavānī devā asya mopa gur mamāiva havam
etana z 3 z

This is the reading of § except that it has vākṣīd, and perhaps
that too ought to be restored here.

*ati dhāvatā-[12]tisurā viśvasyeśānā ojasā | vrścatāmuṣya jīv-
ati | indreṇa sa-[13]ha medhīnā |*

Read °sarā in a; for jīvati the only suggestion I have is jīvātum; in d medinā. Our a = Ś 4a, with b cf RV 8. 17. 9b, and with d cf Ś 6. 129. 1b. This only remotely resembles Ś st 4.

*atimṛtātisarāv indrasyojasā hata | avīm vṛkīva [14] satnīca
tato vo jīvān mā mociḥ punar ā kṛdhi yathāman triṇāhām janām*

Read: atisṛtyātisarā indrasyāujasā hata | avīm vṛkīva mathnīta tato vo jīvan mā moci | pratīcaḥ punar ā kṛdhi yathāmuñ triṇāhām janam z 5 z

Pādas a-d here correspond to Ś st 4; ef are Ś 7de; the reading mociḥ in our ms might suggest that it has dropped Ś 7c plus the word pratīcaḥ: i. e. tvamī tān indra vrtrahān pratīcaḥ, which supplies the needed vocative. A completely satisfactory distribution of the pādas given here as stt 4 and 5 seems hardly possible.

[15] *yam amī purodadhire vrahmānam abhibhūtaye | indrasya te
adhaspadām tvamī prśchā-[16]mi mrtyave | kravyād enām
samayatu!*

In c read indra sa, in d tañ pratyasyāmi, in e śamayatu: the last pāda is new.

*yad viprāir devapurā vrahma varmāni [17] cakrire | tanū-
pānām paripāñāni cakrire | survām tad ara-[18]samī kṛdhi |*

In a read yadi preyur; delete colon after e. Ś has paripāñām kṛṇvānā yad upocire sarvamī.

*athāinām indra vṛtrahāmūn ugro marmanī viśya atrāivenam
abhi [19] tiṣṭhaś śakra nedy ahan tavaḥ | anu tvendrārabhāmahe
syāma sumatāu tava ||*

Read: athāinām indra vrtrahann ugro marmanī vidhya | atrāivāmān abhi tiṣṭhaś śakra medy aham tava | anu tvendrārabhāmahe syāma sumatāu tava z 8 z

[f104a] *yathendram udvātanām labdhvā cakre adhaspadām
kṛṇe mīm adharam tathā śāśvatībhyas sa-[2]mābhyāḥ z 3 z*

Read: yathendra udvātanām labdhvā cakre adhaspadām kṛṇe ‘mum adharam tathā śāśvatībhyas samābhyāḥ z 9 z 3 z

19

[f104a2] *aṅgiraso janmanāśi tam u hāhur vanaspatīm sva pī-
[3]lo rakṣo bādhāsva sākam indreṇa medhīnā*

Read āṅgiraso in a, sa in c, and medinā in d: tvām would seem better in b. Pāda a occurs AB 7. 17. 3a.

apa rakṣānsi bādhasva bādhasva pa-[4]rirapṛṇa | piśācān pīlo
kravyādō bādhasva pūradevinah |

For b read bādhasva parirapanā, in d mūra°.

athāhus tiṣṭham [5] kaṭukam avagūḍham pale kulaṁ tasyāi
hiranyakeśyāi namaś kṛṇvo arātaye |

In a tiṣṭam would seem possible; in d kṛṇmo.

yā [6] sahatī mahomānā sarvāśā vyānaśe tasyāi hiranyake-
śyāi namaś kṛṇvo arā-[7]taye |

Read: yā mahatī mahomānā sarvāśā vyānaśe | tasyāi ° z
4 z This is S 5. 7. 9.

yas te yonim pratiredhy āṇḍādo garbhadūṣaṇah rāyam pu-
trām prāpyas tvām pī-[8]lus sahajāsītā |

In c I would read prāpya, and for d pīlos sahajāsītha.

yadā pīla maṅgisah | pakvo tiṣṭha vanaspate : tadā-[9]hur
indrām jajñānam śakram prajjahye prati |

In a read pīlo, but for maṅgisah I have no suggestion; in b
'tiṣṭho seems probable. In d prajāghne might be possible.

yathā sedhim apabādhatāpāśyamūno [10] vanaspate | evā pīlo
rakṣo bādhasva sakam indreṇa medinā |

In a sedim apā° would give a possible reading; in d read
sākam.

yat piśācāi-[11]ś puruṣasya jagdhām bhavaty ātmanah ā pīlo
pyāyate punas tava caśnātu pipr-[12]lām |

Read cāśnātu in d; piprlām would seem to mean 'fruit.'

pīlum tvāhuh pītvāhur atho tvāhur vanaspatīm | sarvā tve
bhadrā mā [13] nāmāni tebhīn naś pāhy aṅhasah

In a it would seem possible to read pītīm tvāhur: in c te
bhadrā nāmāni would be good; in d read tebhīr.

rakṣoḥaṇām vṛtrahaṇām pīlum piśāca-[14]jambhanām | jaj-
ñānam agre vṛkṣāṇām tam te badhnāmy āyuṣe zz 4 zz [15]

Read: rakṣoḥaṇām vṛtrahaṇām pīlum piśācajambhanam |
jajñānam agre vṛkṣāṇām tam te badhnāmy āyuṣe z 10 z 4 z

20

[104a15] sagarāya śattruhāne svāhā | śāraṇīnīlāya śattruhāne
svāhā | sadaśā-[16]ya śattruhāne svāhā | iśirāya śattruhāne
svāhā | avasyave śattruhā-[17]ne svāhā | vāyave śattruhāne
svāhā | vātāya śattruhāne svāhā | [18] samudrāya śattruhāne

*svāhā | mātariśvane śatruhaṇe svāhā | pavamā-[19]nāya śatru-
haṇe svāhā zz zz ity atharvaṇikapāippalā-[20]dayāś śākhāyāṁ
saptamaś kāṇḍas samāptah zz kā 7 zz*

Read: sagarāya śatruhaṇe svāhā z 1 z śilānīḍāya śatruhaṇe
svāhā z 2 z sadaśāya śatruhaṇe svāhā z 3 z iśirāya śatruhaṇe
svāhā z 4 z avasyave śatruhaṇe svāhā z 5 z vāyave śatruhaṇe
svāhā z 6 z vātāya śatruhaṇe svāhā z 7 z samudrāya śatru-
haṇe svāhā z 8 z mātariśvane śatruhaṇe svāhā z 9 z pavamānāya
śatruhaṇe svāhā z 10 z 5 z anu 4 z

ity atharvaṇikapāippalādāyāṁ śākhāyāṁ saptamaś kāṇḍas
samāptah.

The emendation śilānīḍāya (an epithet of Garuḍa) is none too
certain, but seems possible.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WESTERN HAN DYNASTY

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I. The feudal system of the Chou dynasty.

THE FORM of government which the Revolution of 1912 partially overthrew was no sudden creation, but the product of long centuries of growth. It had its roots far back beyond the Christian era and had undergone great modifications in successive dynasties. It has by no means disappeared to-day, but in modified form is the basis of the present republican machinery of administration and may well remain so for years to come. In all the long history of the Chinese political organization, there is no more important period than that which spans the dynasty of the Western Han. It was then that the combination was made between the decentralized feudalism of the Chou and the highly centralized and bureaucratic innovations of the Ts'in. As the years of the dynasty progressed, a form of organization increasingly developed which with alterations was to become the framework of the central government under all succeeding rulers. It is not too much to say that the organization of China which we know dates from the great emperors of the Earlier Han.

The history of feudalism in China goes back to the time of Yu, the founder of the Hia dynasty. It had its origin at Tusan¹ where Emperor Yu had his first conference with the princes of the different existing states. In succeeding generations this feudal system was improved and modified to meet the peculiar needs of each time, and it reached its completion in the middle of the Chou dynasty. It is well nigh impossible to discover the exact beginnings of feudalism, for what records we have of that period are unreliable. To have a full and intelligent understanding of the governmental system and structure of the Western Han, however, it is wise to have in mind a brief survey of the feudal government as it existed under the more important Chou monarchs.

¹ In the present province of Anhui.

At the head of the State was the emperor.² He had the power to create nobles, appoint ministers, distribute honors, inspect his subjects, confer emoluments, and levy taxes. He was to conduct religious ceremonies, national worship, and meetings of the princes. He granted land to those whom he considered worthy and he retained the power to eject such grantees should they be found faithless.

The central government consisted of the emperor, a prime minister or senior chancellor (T'ai Ssu) who was over all departments and who helped the monarch to execute the latter's decrees, a senior tutor (T'ai Fu) who gave advice to the emperor, and a senior guardian (T'ai Pao) who admonished the ruler whenever he departed from the path of rectitude. Each of the three councillors had an assistant or junior councillor (Shao Fu, Shao Pao, and Shao Ssu). These councillors were to study the needs of the nation and to submit suggestions to the Crown for the improvement of the welfare of the people.

Below the councillors were the six departments.

1. The Heaven Department (T'ien Kuan). The head of this department helped the emperor to regulate the state affairs and public expenses, to determine the national budget, and to fix taxes.

2. The Earth Department (Ti Kuan). The head of this department was charged with the duty of establishing schools, proclaiming laws, providing for the poor and the helpless, encouraging virtue, and appointing teachers to instruct the people in the proper means of life.

3. The Spring Department (Ch'un Kuan). It was the duty of the head of this department to attend to all religious ceremonies.

4. The Summer Department (Hia Kuan) was assigned the duty to raise money for war, to organize the army, to crush rebellion, and to examine people who were ready for service.

5. The Autumn Department (T'siu Kuan). This was the ministry of justice. To its head was intrusted the task of interpreting the laws, punishing criminals, and giving instructions to the judges. On the other hand, he was to see whether the

² In Chinese texts all rulers of the Chou are called kings (Wang) and all monarchs from Ts'in to the present time emperors (Ti).

punishments imposed upon the people were reasonable.³ Under him were the Great Travellers (T'ai Ying Jen) and the Small Travellers (Siao Ying Jen), who were given police powers, i. e. they were to inspect the feudal kingdoms, to see whether everything was in good order, and to make reports of their tours.

6. The Winter Department (Tung Kuan). The head of this department had the duty of assigning to the people suitable places for dwelling, of providing employment for them, and of overseeing public works.

All six departments were directly responsible to the emperor.⁴ They were supposed to make constant and regular reports of their work and to present measures for the emperor's approval. Roughly speaking, the emperor, the councillors, and the departments formed the imperial council.

The monarch reserved a state of one thousand square li for himself. The rest of the land was given to his feudal vassals. Of these there were five classes: first, the duke (Kung) who was given one hundred square li; second, the marquis (Hou) who received the same size of land; third, the earl (Pê) to whom was given seventy square li; fourth, the count (Tsu) and fifth, the baron (Nan) to each of whom were given fifty square li. Territories less than fifty square li were not directly responsible to the emperor but to the princes and were called attached territories.⁵ All imperial ministers were given lands according to their ranks. Thus the whole nation under the Chou was divided into nine regions including the imperial domain. There were once 1773 feudal states, of which ninety-three were in the imperial domain.⁶ The tenure of land within this region was for life, while that outside was a hereditary grant given to the princes.⁷

Under each of the five classes of vassals were a number of officers and ministers, a majority of whom were appointed by

³ Hawking L. Yen, *A Survey of Constitutional Development in China*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1911, p. 52.—Friedrich Hirth, *The Ancient History of China*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1911, p. 123.

⁴ For a detailed study of the departments, see H. L. Yen, *op. cit.* pp. 45-55.

⁵ H. L. Yen, *op. cit.* p. 42.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 43.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 56.

the Crown. The number of officers varied according to the feudal rank of their master.⁸ To express their loyalty and allegiance to the emperor, custom and law required that the feudal princes should send annual tribute to the monarch,⁹ model their governments according to the central government, confer with the emperor in case of difficulties, and help him to subdue rebellious princes. Were trouble to arise between two states, the wronged prince was not allowed to attack without first obtaining the consent of the emperor.

All land was divided for purposes of cultivation into three classes in accordance with its fertility, and it was partitioned among the farmers according to the number of persons in a family.¹⁰ In return, the farmer was under obligation to pay rent and to labor and fight whenever emergency arose. Later, the 'Well Farm' (Tsin T'ien) system was inaugurated, a plan by which land was divided into nine equal lots, each comprising seventy square mou. To every adult was assigned a lot, and every eight families were to cultivate the lot in the center. The income of the latter was to go to the imperial government.

When the emperor declared war on neighboring peoples, one from each family was required to join the army. All urban residents between twenty and sixty-five years of age, with the exception of the nobles, officers, the old and the crippled, were required to go to war.¹¹

Ordinary citizens of good character and ability might enter the civil service. They were first to pass satisfactory examinations and were recommended to the emperor and inducted by him into the court.

For a while the whole machinery, complicated as it was, worked well and produced its desired results. The able monarchs who gave vigor to the initial years of the Chou dynasty succeeded in maintaining order and peace and the feudal princes were kept under control.

II. *The decline of feudalism.*

The later emperors of the Chou dynasty forgot the hardships of their ancestors and gave themselves over to vice, leaving the

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 42.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 57.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 62.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 58.

government in the hands of incompetent or corrupt ministers. They ceased to give heed to their councillors, and instead of picking the best to fill offices, they surrounded themselves with flatterers. In 842 B. C. rebellion broke out and the ruling monarch, Li Wang (878-842 B. C.), was banished. Bad emperors were followed by worse ones. Yu Wang (781-770 B. C.), in order to please his queen, cheated his princes by lighting false beacon fires, and was finally captured by the Hiungnu, a people related to the Huns.¹²

After Nan Wang (314-255 B. C.), the ministers and princes actually made and dethroned the emperor and ceased to pay tribute to him.¹³ They began to worship Heaven directly, a privilege heretofore reserved to the monarch, and no longer sent troops to the latter's assistance. Before long they ceased to present themselves to the emperor and at one time failed to visit him for thirty years.¹⁴ Those princes who were exposed to the attacks of neighboring states, seeing that they could not expect any help from the central government, now organized their own armies, levied their own taxes, and themselves appointed civil and military officers.

By the time of P'ing Wang (770-719 B. C.), the emperor's leadership had become purely nominal and his power had passed into the hands of the feudal princes. The northwestern states began to expand their territories at the expense of their barbarous neighbors, the Yung and the Ti. By constant struggle with these tribes, they developed their warlike spirit, and with the help of such military leaders as Sung Ping and Wu Chi, the stronger feudal princes annexed all the neighboring small states and became more powerful than the central government. The eastern states had been unable to expand their territories, for they were hedged in by the sea. They began, however, under such statesman as Kuan Tze, to make use of salt and iron, and thus became rich. The emperor now found himself dependent on some states for money, on others for military support.

Among the feudal princes, meetings were held without giving notice to the monarch and alliances were concluded and dissolved

¹² Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi* (Historical Records), Commercial Press, Shanghai, China, 1916; Chapter 4, p. 11.

¹³ F. Hirth, *The Ancient History of China*, p. 326.

¹⁴ Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, ch. 4, p. 9.

without reference to him. This condition of affairs led to periods of decentralization and internal warfare known as the era of 'The Five Leaders' and 'The Seven Heroes.' Several times the emperor attempted to restore his power, but it was too late. The last Chou monarch, Nan Wang, made a bold endeavor to crush Ts'in by concluding an alliance with some of the princes. Ts'in took advantage of this breach, became an open rival, and, by virtue of superior force, defeated the imperial armies. After Nan Wang's death, the empire was left to the relative of the emperor who was ultimately conquered and deposed by Ts'in.

The outstanding weakness of feudalism lay in its decentralization. While the people were technically subjects of the emperor, in actuality they were governed by the local princes. Each local jurisdiction meant the loss to the monarch of just so much land.

III. A period of centralization under the Ts'in dynasty.

With the beginning of the contending states there came a period of anarchy. Warfare was universal. Finally Ts'in Cheng (246-209 b. c.), the feudal prince of Ts'in, with the help of his able warriors conquered and annexed all other states, and China, for the first time, became a united nation. Seeing well the drawbacks of feudalism, Ts'in Cheng determined to rule with an iron hand.

The rulers of the remote past had the title 'Hwang Ti.' All the monarchs of Chou had assumed the title 'Wang,' because they considered themselves unworthy of being called by the earlier title. Ts'in Cheng, however, thought that his merits surpassed all the ancient rulers and so called himself 'Hwang Ti' (Emperor). He has, accordingly, been known to posterity as Ts'in Shih Hwang Ti. When he considered whether it would be wise to divide the nation among the nobles and his relatives, his minister, Li Shih, replied that 'the preceding dynasty, Chou, suffered a great deal because the feudal princes looked upon each other as enemies. They disregarded the mandates of the king, indulged in constant warfare, and at last caused the downfall of the central government. It is sufficient to compensate the princes and ministers with money. This is the way to insure peace.'¹⁵ Acting upon the advice of his minister, Ts'in Shih

¹⁵ *Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Shih Chi*, ch. 6, p. 5.

Hwang Ti divided the kingdom into thirty-six administrative districts, each ruled by three officials, a governor, a general, and a censor, all appointed by the emperor. All weapons were collected and melted. New laws were put into operation and the 'Well Farm' system was abolished. All the more capable people were ordered to live in the capital in order to permit careful surveillance and so to nip further revolutions in the bud.

This sudden break with the governmental methods installed by the ancient emperors seemed too radical to the scholars of the time and they ventured to comment adversely upon it. To stop these criticisms, Li Shih suggested that 'scholars are wholly ignorant of the present. They care merely to copy the past. If they are allowed to criticize the government, seditions and the decline of imperial power will follow. I suggest therefore that all books but the records of the present dynasty be burnt. People who dare to talk about the older classics should be arrested, tried, and executed. Scholars who venture to compare the present government with the past and thereby make slighting comments are, together with their families, to be killed. Officials who tolerate such outlaws or who fail to execute this order thirty days after its issue should receive the same punishment or be banished from the kingdom. All books but those on forestry, horticulture, and medicine should be gathered and thrown into the fire. Scholars might be allowed to study law under appointed officials.'¹⁶

This suggestion was embodied in an imperial decree and was put into vigorous execution. Such books as could be found were burnt, all scholars were brought to trial and not less than four hundred were buried alive. It was only through the careful efforts of a daring few that we to-day still have the Confucian classics.

Before his death, the First Emperor saw the beginning of the disintegration of the empire. There was universal and growing dissatisfaction and mobs were common. Within a few months, the whole fabric had fallen to pieces.

There is much to be said in favor of the policy of centralization as it was carried out by the First Emperor. His iron hand was needed to bring the nation together. He did well in abolishing the old system of taxation and in placing national resources

¹⁶ Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, ch. 87, p. 3.

under the direct control of the central government. He saved the nation from the incessant civil wars of the Chou and wisely took over all military powers of the feudal princes. He centered all political powers in his own hands by making all ministers and governors directly responsible to him. His purpose was to make the nation the personal property of his family for 'thousands of generations.' His dream might have been partially realized had it not been for his excessive tyranny.

IV. *Han Kao Tsu's general plan of reconstruction.*

The man of iron was gone. Once again the nation was plunged into turmoil. New military heroes were making their fortunes and the surviving feudal princes planned to restore their old kingdoms. It seemed as though the days of the Contending States were fast returning. There was not even a nominally recognized emperor. On the other hand, the people were tired of war. They were willing to follow any one who would guarantee the safety of their property and lives. Such a man was found in Liu Pan (206-194 B. C.) later known as Han Kao Tsu, the founder of the Western Han dynasty.

Kao Tsu started his career as a magistrate of a *ting*. Through his genius as a warrior and strategist, he worked his way up until he became a rival of Hiang-yu, then the dominant figure in the empire. His experience convinced him that he could not hold the country together by sheer force, nor by assigning portions of land to the princes. He was sure, however, that a plan such as set forth by Ts'in Shih Hwang Ti was workable if he could combine it with the machinery devised by the ancient sovereigns.¹⁷ His first aim was to gain the favor of the people. This he did by allowing them to occupy the gardens of Ts'in and to turn them into fields, by exempting them from taxation for a certain length of time,¹⁸ by abolishing the laws of Ts'in, and by the proclamation of 'The Three Principles,' a simple penal code which ran: 'Murderers are to be executed. Criminals who are guilty of robbery or injuring others are punishable by severe laws. The rest of the Ts'in laws are to be void.'¹⁹

¹⁷ Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han Shu* (The Former Han History), The Commercial Press, Shanghai, China, 1916, ch. 1b, p. 2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* ch. 1, p. 10.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* ch. 1, p. 7.

Kao Tsu knew well that instead of driving his conquered enemies to the wall it might be well to show his magnanimity. By promising to each the grant of a city of ten thousand families he induced the independent governors to surrender.²⁰ All prisoners, except those deserving death, were to be free.²¹ He ordered that all who, for want of food, had sold themselves as slaves during the war, should be free citizens. Innocent military officers who had lost their positions were to be restored.²² By liberal treatment, Kao Tsu won the confidence and support of the conquered.

The emperor was no less conscious of the need of granting favors to those who had offered help in bringing the war to a successful issue. On one occasion he made a frank confession that as an organizer Chang-liang far surpassed him, that as a strategist Shiao-woo was much better, and that as a general Han-sin was much superior to him.²³ To satisfy all the generals and leaders who had promised allegiance to him, he granted to each a certain portion of land. He even conferred land on his enemies.²⁴ Soldiers who died in the war were to be buried at the expense of the state, and their families were to be provided for. Those who had rendered important service were to be exempted from taxation forever.²⁵

The scholars were the leading citizens and were not to be neglected. To keep them quiet, Kao Tsu proved himself a worthy follower of the past and a worshipper of the sages. He showed honor to the monarchs of the past by assigning positions to their descendants, and even before he became emperor displayed his loyalty by ordering his army to mourn for I Ti, the rightful king of Tsu, who was murdered by Hiang-yu. During his conquest of the empire, he refused to attack the State of Lu because Confucius taught there, a striking contrast to the attitude of Ts'in Shih Hwang Ti.²⁶ In conformity with the governing principles of the emperors, Kao Tsu made known his

²⁰ *Ibid.* ch. 1, p. 10.

²¹ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 1.

²² *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 2.

²³ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 3.

²⁴ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 4.

²⁵ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 9.

²⁶ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 1.

belief that people were to be taught and not to be punished, and that they were to be governed by the good and the honorable of the community.²⁷ Good character, favorable reputation, and experience were requirements which he laid down for those who wished to enter the civil service. Promotion was to be based on merit. It was the emperor's idea that all district magistrates should either in person or by deputy visit the scholars who were known for their good conduct and should recommend them to the Palace.²⁸ While he was still on the battle-field Kao Tsu promised that scholars who were willing to follow him should be ennobled.²⁹ To them he gave exclusive privileges which were denied to the merchants.³⁰ By these means, the support of the conservatives who had been alienated by the Ts'in was obtained.

The land problem was a serious one. Kao Tsu was well aware that he could not practise the extreme absolutism of Ts'in Shih Hwang Ti. for he had learned by experience that unless he gave lands to the leaders of the time, the latter would not follow him.³¹ The question which concerned him was how to grant lands and yet have a central government efficient enough to hold the princes in subjection.

Remembering the mistake of the Chou dynasty in permitting the nation to become a loose federation of petty states, Kao Tsu decided to create a few large kingdoms. He did not restore the Five Class System of Chou which had been abolished by the Ts'in, but started a two class feudalism made up of the king and the feudal princes with the emperor at the top. During the first decade of the Western Han dynasty, there were only twelve kingdoms, three of which were ruled over by Kao Tsu's brothers-in-law who had followed him in the wars, and the remainder by his own brothers.³² The number of officers whom he made feudal princes amounted to little over a hundred.³³ This is in sharp contrast with the beginning of the Chou dynasty, when there were eight hundred kingdoms, fifty of which were ruled

²⁷ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 2.

²⁸ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 8.

²⁹ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 7.

³⁰ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 6.

³¹ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 1.

³² *Ibid.* ch. 3, p. 2.

³³ *Ibid.* ch. 14, p. 1.

by brothers and relatives of the king.³⁴ The kingdoms of Han varied in size from thirty-one to seventy-three districts (Chun).³⁵ Each district was again divided into Hsiens and contained from three to fifty-one of these. Throughout the Western Han dynasty all grants were counted by the numbers of families, and these varied from 10,000 to 460,000 in a district. The estimated population of the various districts ran from 30,000 to 2,590,000. These figures are by no means reliable, because even to-day an accurate census is unknown in China. They provide, however, fairly satisfactory data on which to base estimates.

Among the methods which Kao Tsu devised for maintaining the power and wealth of the central government was the retention of a considerable body of land for himself. At the time of his accession, the central government had fifteen districts, an amount equal to all the large kingdoms combined. He gave portions of that land to his princesses, who were, of course, powerless. For the administration of the capital, he appointed a viceroy who was directly responsible to him.³⁶ The capital was approximately three times the size of the royal domain of the Chou dynasty.

Kao Tsu conferred large grants upon his brothers, because he believed that to locate them at the different strategic points of the country would meet two ends: it would satisfy his brothers, and minimize the danger of rebellion. Hence at the very outset the title 'king' (Wang) was almost exclusively given to his brothers and brothers-in-law. He thought that by virtue of their relation to the emperor they would be faithful, but he overlooked the fact that they might become too powerful and thus endanger the throne. Feudal lords outside his family were not made kings without first granting them the surname Liu-Kao, Tsu's family name. Nine of the emperor's brothers and sons became kings. Later the title 'king' was given to ministers and princes of great merit who did not belong to the Liu family, but all of them disappeared before Wen Ti's reign (179-156 B. C.).³⁷ It is evident, then, that the larger part of the nation

³⁴ *Ibid.* ch. 14, p. 1.

³⁵ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 4.

³⁶ *Ibid.* ch. 17.

³⁷ *Ibid.* ch. 13, p. 1.

was in the hands of Kao Tsu's immediate family and of those closely related to him.

With a few exceptions, Kao Tsu kept the administrative system of the Ts'in dynasty intact. A majority of the offices, as we shall see later, had their origin in the preceding dynasty, and Kao Tsu did not even change their titles. From time to time the number of officials who were used to strengthen the central government and to watch the kings and feudal lords was increased. Kao Tsu and his successors regarded the positions of the censors as very important and kept their occupants busy.

As time went on, many of the kings died without heirs and others lost their estates through unworthy descendants.³⁸ The central government annexed all such territories and put them under its direct control. The Western Han dynasty owes much of its unity and expansion to Wu Ti (140-86 b. c.), for while to some of the generals he granted his newly-won territories, he spared no effort to make the conquered land a portion of the royal domain.

The last and perhaps the most important method by which Kao Tsu and his successors maintained the strength of the central government was the retention of military powers in the hands of the emperors. We have seen how Chou Yu Wang kindled beacon-fires to summon the soldiers of the feudal princes for help. This story illustrates the dependency of the Chou emperors upon the feudal princes for military assistance. With this as an object lesson, the Western Han emperors entrusted all military power to a few generals appointed by the central government. It was this system that kept Kao Tsu's widow from usurping the government and that later put down the Seven Kingdoms' Rebellion (154 b. c.). Indeed, had it not been for the emperor's military power, and the military officers who were always faithful to the Crown, the Western Han would have come to an end long before it did.³⁹ While love of peace weakened the Chou dynasty, the constant invasions of Hiungnu gave to the Han emperors a good reason for building up a national army strong enough to meet any emergency.

In a word, then, Kao Tsu effected a sort of combination of the

³⁸ *Ibid.* ch. 41.

³⁹ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 10.

feudalism of the Chou and of the highly centralized government of the Ts'in. To comply with the desire of the people who were eager to see the return of the Chou days and to quiet those who had done much to win the throne for him, he had to share with his retainers the fruits of his conquests, but he decided to go half way and no more. Along with the restoration of feudalism he limited the number of grants, retained a large area for the capital, created most of his chiefs or kings from the members of his own family, retained and increased all Ts'in official positions which were necessary for a strong imperial government, and kept the military power in the hands of the generals of the central government.

V. The feudal government.

We have seen that there were two categories of titles in the feudalism of the Western Han dynasty, king and marquis. We have seen, too, that those who became kings were as a rule the emperor's brothers and children. The title was occasionally given to other men of extraordinary merit, and still later was conferred on the surrendered chiefs of the northern nomads.⁴⁰ It was also the custom of the Western Han dynasty to keep in the emperor's ancestral temple a record of the service rendered by ministers, the children of whom might, under rare circumstances, be summoned to enter civil service and given lands. The emperors of the Western Han, however, particularly those who ruled after the Seven Kingdoms' Rebellion, were very careful not to make unnecessary grants.

Before the Seven Kingdoms' Rebellion, the story of which we are soon to relate, the feudal governments were a miniature of the central government. Their officials, both civil and military, were the counterparts of those of the central government, except that their titles were slightly different. It is explicitly stated that Kao Tsu promised his children the right of governing their own territories.⁴¹ All kingdoms were hereditary, that is, the eldest son succeeded the father, just as the eldest son of the emperor was to succeed the emperor. This, however, was later changed. Except the tutor, the prime minister, and the censors, who were chosen by the emperor,⁴² the chiefs in the feudal king-

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* ch. 17.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* ch. 51, p. 4.

⁴² *Ibid.* ch. 58, p. 4.

doms were allowed to appoint their own officials and levy their own taxes.⁴³

Points of contact between the central government and the feudal governments were insignificant. All that was required was to send an annual tribute, to visit the emperor once in five years,⁴⁴ to attend any conference that the emperor might call, and to send delegates to the imperial palace when ancestor worship took place.⁴⁵ When the kings became old, the emperor granted them a cane and freed them from the necessity of coming to see him.⁴⁶ The emperor also reserved the right to regulate the taxes of the feudal princes in time of famine. Aside from these restrictions, the feudal princes ruled as independently as the emperor himself.

VI. *The growth in power of the feudal kingdoms culminating in the Seven Kingdoms' Rebellion.*

In spite of the checks and safeguards which Kao Tsu provided, the feudal kingdoms increased in importance. During the long war at the end of the Ts'in dynasty, many great cities had been deserted. During and before Wen Ti's reign all people who had left their homes returned, and there was such an inrush of immigrants that some feudal kingdoms actually doubled in population. The larger kings got 3,040,000 families, although originally no one of them had had more than 16,000.⁴⁷

With the increase of population and with the natural resources which some of the feudal kingdoms possessed it followed inevitably that industry grew by leaps and bounds, and with it wealth. For instance, the kingdom of Wu (in the locality of the present province of Kiangsu), by virtue of its nearness to the sea, manufactured salt and coined money, and soon became so rich that it was able to free its people from taxation.⁴⁸ With the increase of wealth, it might well be expected that Wu's regard for the central government would decline.

It will be remembered that at the end of the period of the

⁴³ *Ibid.* ch. 1b, p. 9; ch. 24, p. 4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* ch. 5.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* ch. 5, p. 1.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* ch. 44, p. 4.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* ch. 16.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* ch. 35, p. 2.

Contending States, some of the feudatories became strong because of the four nobles who used to have a large number of guests.⁴⁹ The nobles would give them pensions, and in return, when emergency arose, these guests would do all in their power to uphold their masters. This was also common in some of the larger kingdoms at the beginning of the Western Han dynasty, and it became at least one of the causes that contributed to the importance of the kings.⁵⁰

The growth of military power was another explanation for the expansion of the feudal kingdoms. In the attempt of Queen Li (Kao Tsu's consort) to kill off all the kings of the Liu family and to fill their places with her own brothers, several of Kao Tsu's sons were executed outright or compelled to commit suicide.⁵¹ This attempted *coup d'état* gave a pretext for the remaining feudal kings of the Liu name to enlarge their armies, a step which might later tempt them to revolt.

In time, then, the feudal lords came to be more concerned with their own autonomous development than with loyalty to the central government. Within a hundred years after the accession of Kao Tsu they had gotten so far away from the control of the emperor that the realm seemed about to return to the decentralized conditions of the Contending States. The feudal chiefs were ready to challenge the strength of the central government whenever a chance should be given.

The emperors, however, were keenly alive to the danger, and saw clearly that if affairs were allowed to take their course, the feudal governments were certain to surpass the imperial government in wealth and power. In view of this danger several attempts were made to reduce the feudal kingdoms. Two brilliant statesmen, Kia I and Ch'ao Ts'o, initiated the plan. These men suggested in turn to Wen Ti and King Ti (156-140 B. C.) that a part of the feudal lands be annexed by the central government, for the stronger the central government the less the fear of rebellion.⁵² Kia I's proposal, however, received but scant attention, and the seven kingdoms demanded the execution

⁴⁹ P'ing Yuan Kun, Meng Ch'ang Kun, Sin Ling Kun and Ch'un Shen Kun.

⁵⁰ Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han Shu*, ch. 44.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* ch. 38.

⁵² *Ibid.* ch. 48, p. 5.

of Ch'ao Ts'o on pain of revolt. An outbreak finally started in the kingdom of Wu. The ruler of that state, fearing that the central government might become too strong, induced his fellow kings to join him. Partly because of the military power of the central government, and partly because of the lack of close coöperation among the rebellious states, the revolt was put down.

VII. *A period of centralization.*

As soon as the Rebellion of the Seven Kingdoms had been suppressed, the emperor King Ti undertook to reduce the feudal kings to a less independent position. His first measure was to deprive them of the full control of their estates. It will be recalled that except for a nominal tribute which the feudal chiefs paid to the central government they practically ruled as independent sovereigns. Now the central government made it known that the kings were not to be allowed to govern their lands.⁵³ They might keep them as a source of revenue, but must part with their political functions. All officials, civil and military, were now to be appointed by the emperor and were to be directly responsible to him.⁵⁴ To guard against plots and conspiracies, the number of officials in the kingdoms was greatly reduced.⁵⁵ As a result some of the kings became so poor that they were forced to ride in ox-drawn carts.⁵⁶ They ceased to exert political influence and became harmless pensioners of the central government.

In the second place, the emperor now put into execution a plan which had been contemplated during the initial years of the dynasty, the division of the kingdoms among the children of the kings. The central government notified the kings that after the death of each, the eldest son was to retain a comparatively larger portion of land and the title of king, while to the younger sons were to go a definite portion of land and the title of lord.⁵⁷ As a result the largest kingdom (Chi) was soon divided into seven parts, Chao into six, Liang into five, and Wei Nan into three.⁵⁸

⁵³ *Ibid.* ch. 19, p. 7.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* ch. 38.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* ch. 19, p. 7; ch. 14, p. 2.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* ch. 38.

⁵⁷ Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, ch. 17.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* ch. 17.

During Wu Ti's reign all the former wealthy and extensive kingdoms became insignificant. As the number of states multiplied, the spirit of unity increased and the danger of revolt declined.

King Ti and his successors were particularly careful to limit or reduce the size of the kingdoms.⁵⁹ The big kingdoms of Wu Ti's time did not exceed ten cities, while the lords did not have more than forty or fifty li, an amount of land so small that the income was just sufficient to pay their tribute, their share in the expenses of the imperial worship, and to meet their own private expenses.⁶⁰ Each king was allowed to possess no more than three hundred *mou* (acres) of land and two hundred servants.⁶¹ Violation of the law was punished by confiscation.

The central government, moreover, began to avail itself of every opportunity to annex kingdoms in whole or in part. Sometimes the king died without children, or the children were convicted of crime, and sometimes the king failed to appear when summoned, or neglected to send money to aid in the annual imperial worship.⁶² Largely as a consequence the royal domain, which at the beginning of the dynasty possessed fifteen districts, by the time of King Ti increased to over eighty.⁶³ Perhaps the most important feature of the plan was the imperial possession of all mountains and rivers, a source from which the kingdoms once derived much of their prosperity and wealth.⁶⁴

Another means used to avoid trouble with the feudatories was to shift the kings much as the late Manchu régime shifted the viceroys.⁶⁵ Suspended kings were usually asked to remove to the frontier provinces, which was equivalent to exile.⁶⁶

As a final precaution against rebellion, censors were maintained whose duty it was to inspect the kingdoms and to make reports. These officials were to see to it that no large kingdoms trespassed on the neighboring small states, and that there was no disobedience of imperial decrees, no excessive taxation, no injustice in the courts, no practice of favoritism, and no luxury.⁶⁷

⁵⁹ Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han Shu*, ch. 44, p. 4.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* ch. 11, p. 2.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* ch. 44, p. 14; ch. 14, p. 2.

⁶² *Ibid.* ch. 19, p. 7.

⁶³ Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, ch. 17.

⁶⁴ Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han Shu*, ch. 53, p. 3; ch. 6, p. 9.

⁶⁵ Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, ch. 17.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* ch. 17.

⁶⁷ Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han Shu*, ch. 48, p. 12.

In a word, the kings were no longer semi-independent rulers, but pensioners, and as such they had merely the right to gather taxes under imperial supervision. They were held strictly to their duties and obligations to the emperor, and were required to attend the imperial worship and to be present at the regular conferences with the head of state.⁶⁸

VIII. *The central government.*⁶⁹

As in all absolute monarchies, the emperor under the Han was in theory all powerful, the chief executive, the law-giver, and the supreme judge. In time of peace he regulated taxes, examined scholars, and appointed ministers. In time of war he was commander-in-chief of the armies.

Usually, however, the emperor did not exercise all the powers which technically belonged to him. He had a prime minister who was frequently the real ruler. The title 'prime minister' (Chin Siang, later Siang Kuo, in either case meaning 'to assist in ruling') was created by Ts'in Shih Hwang Ti and preserved by the Han emperors. Some emperors indeed had two prime ministers. The duties of the latter were not clearly defined. Upon his suggestion the emperor appointed, dismissed, or punished his kings and officials,⁷⁰ made and abolished laws, proclaimed peace, and declared war. All petitions, recommendations, impeachments, and reports reached the crown only through his hands.⁷¹ He had two assistants.

The senior tutor, the senior chancellor, and the senior guardian together constituted what was known in the Chou dynasty as the Three Councillors. These were abolished by the Ts'in dynasty but were restored under the Han. Besides offering suggestions and advice, their functions were insignificant.

The general (Ta Ssu Ma) was charged with the direction of all military affairs.⁷² Under him were four lieutenant-generals

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* ch. 6, pp. 11-15.

⁶⁹ For a complete list of the titles of the Western Han officials consult Édouard Chavannes' *Les mémoires historiques*, five volumes, Paris, 1897; Vol. 5, Appendix 1.

⁷⁰ Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Shu*, ch. 5, p. 4.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* ch. 19, p. 2.

⁷² The title 'general' corresponds to the 'T'ai Wei' of the Ts'in dynasty.

(right, left, front, and rear). The number was increased from time to time. They commanded the two standing armies in the capital, and the national army in case of foreign invasion.

Another official who, with the prime minister and the general, shared the honor of being the most important functionary at court, was the grand censor (Yu Ssu Ta Fu, later known as Ta Ssu K'ung). He was at the head of civil officers, and upon him the positions of all sub-officers depended. He had two assistants, one in charge of the imperial library, the other entrusted with the duty of inspecting all district officers. Under those two were fifteen commissioners (Yu Ssu Yuan) whose duty it was to receive all indictments submitted by local officers.

The administrative board corresponding to the departments of modern governments included, first of all, the Ta Ssu Lung or minister of agriculture. China was then predominantly agricultural, and derived the greater part of her national revenue from the farm. The minister of agriculture was to send around officers to collect taxes from the farm and to distribute grain to all civil office-holders. All taxes coming from mountains, seas, ponds, and marshes went to meet the current expenses of the imperial family.⁷³

There were three governors in the capital. Under them were a number of military officers whose duty it was to maintain order in the royal domain.

There was a special functionary to look after the imperial temple, ancestral halls, and ceremonial observances.

The supreme court was organized under the Ts'in dynasty (the title 'Ting Wei', meaning fair, survived in the Han).⁷⁴ The court was attached to the palace, and the chief justice was appointed by the emperor. Later this court was called T'ai Li Yuan, a name which was in vogue even at the beginning of the Republic. In the seventh year of Kao Tsu's reign, each Hsien was ordered to have a local court of its own. If a case could not be settled there it was to be submitted to the governors, who, in case they should fail to settle it, were to hand it over to the supreme court. Final appeal could be taken to the emperor.

⁷³ There were two kinds of taxes, 'S'ai' and 'Fu'; the first for public expenses, the second for the national army.

⁷⁴ Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, ch. 23, p. 8.

Within the imperial palace there stood the head official of the court. His duty chiefly consisted in reporting on the character of all court officials. Under him were five categories of officers which we need not describe except to say that they were either personal guards or servants of the emperor and the royal family. In addition, there were special officials to look after the different palaces and to take care of the finances of the imperial family.

IX. *Local administration.*

The country was divided into kingdoms, which in turn were divided into administrative districts. Each district was again divided into Hsiens. As we have noticed previously, the number of districts under each kingdom varied from three to fifteen, and the number of Hsiens in each district varied from three to fifty-one. Towards the close of the Western Han dynasty, it was estimated that the capital or royal domain had fifty-seven Hsiens and a population of two and a half million.⁷⁵ Outside of the royal domain the country was divided into twenty kingdoms, which were composed of eighty districts, which again were made up of one thousand five hundred and one Hsiens. The total population was approximately sixty millions.⁷⁶

The Western Han dynasty kept the district system of Ts in practically intact. At the head of each district were a civil governor and a military officer. At the head of each Hsien was a magistrate. Each Hsien was about ten li square and was composed of an indefinite number of counties or Shans. There were three officers in each county, who were collectively known as the 'Three Old Ones.' One was to look after the religious and educational welfare of the people or, more strictly, to enlighten the people in the ways of living, one was the judge and tax collector, and the third was the head of the police. The smallest unit was a Ting, at the head of which was an officer who had no well defined duties.⁷⁷ From the prime minister to the lowest official, it was estimated that one time there were not less than 130,000 officials.

⁷⁵ Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, ch. 28, p. 5.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* ch. 28.

⁷⁷ After the Seven Kingdoms' Rebellion, all these officials were appointed by the emperor.

X. The effects of the administrative system of the Western Han upon subsequent dynasties.

The Western Han dynasty is generally regarded as one of the most glorious periods in Chinese history, not alone because of the widespread conquests of Wu Ti's reign and the brilliant rulers which it produced, but because of the far-reaching and persistent influences of its administrative system upon later dynasties.

1. Perhaps the most outstanding and lasting effect of the Western Han dynasty was the honor paid to scholars. For the purpose of recruiting officials for the elaborate bureaucracy, civil service examinations were established, and success in these was based upon proficiency in the classics. Decrees ordering the recommendations of scholars for governmental service were repeatedly promulgated. People came to regard the mastery of the classics as the only method of obtaining entrance into the time-honored official class. In P'ing Ti's time (1-6 A. D.) the Chou school system was restored and scholars were distinguished by their dress and manner. Later the title 'Five Classics Doctor' was created. A general knowledge of the five classics was required of any scholar who had the desire to be an official. The Confucian school, wellnigh extinguished by the Ts'in, now enjoyed unprecedented popularity. It was this tradition that obtained honor for the scholar class and gave birth to the competitive examination system. It was this tradition, too, which made scholars more eager for official positions than for social usefulness.

2. We must not overlook another effect of the Western Han officialdom, which as ages went by contributed much to the corruption of the Chinese administrative system. This was the sale of offices and titles, a practice which had its origin in the latter part of Wu Ti's reign, when the country was on the verge of bankruptcy because of the long wars and the successive attacks of famine. To get money, the government created and sold titles and petty offices. In later years, however, when famine was over, the government had no intention of abolishing the system, and gradually it became a regular form of national income; and the wealthy began to look upon political position as a means of acquiring a fortune. So persistent was the corrupt tendency then established that as late as the Manchu

dynasty officials shamelessly regarded office as a source of private gain. With money they procured power; with power they obtained more money.

3. At the beginning of the Western Han dynasty, people were allowed to mint cash and produce salt and iron. Later, however, when the country was flooded with cash, money began to lose value, and as the salt and iron merchants became rich the government relied on them in time of financial stringency. To remedy the situation and to add to the wealth of the central government, coinage of money and the manufacture of iron and salt were forbidden to individuals.

4. One of the noteworthy features of the Western Han period was the changes in the penal system made under different rulers. Kao Tsu ordered that all criminals over seventy and below ten should not be held responsible for the crimes committed.⁷⁸ It was also in his time that the death punishment was commuted for the payment of 60,000 cash. The punishment of the 'slaughter of three clans' was abolished.⁷⁹ In theory and practice the Western Han rulers in the long run carried out the motto set forth by Kao Tsu that 'people are to be enlightened, not punished,' a motto which has inspired many a monarch in ensuing generations.

5. The emperors of Western Han in their provision for the old and destitute not only showed their own magnanimity and care but also aided materially the initiation of many philanthropic institutions, some of which exist to-day. The emperor Wen Ti was the first one to order that widows, widowers, orphans, and the poor were to be cared for. It was the duty of the district magistrate to send around officers to visit these helpless people. People over eighty were given ten bushels of rice and a certain amount of meat and wine each month. Those over ninety received, in addition, two hundred feet (tsai) of silk and forty ounces of cotton.⁸⁰ These grants were constantly fulfilled by the emperor. Sometimes the helpless were exempted from taxes and service. Not infrequently, when the country

⁷⁸ Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han Shu*, ch. 1b, p. 1.

⁷⁹ Formerly when a criminal was convicted of some very serious crime, not only was he to be executed, but all his relatives on the side of his mother, father, and wife.

⁸⁰ Pan Ku, *Ch'ien Han Shu*, ch. 4.

was at peace, the emperor would ask his governors to make through their commissioners a special study of the poor and to provide means of relief and help. This policy encouraged private charitable institutions. Many of the traditions and customs of government aid for the poor have come down to our days.

6. The exact tax system is nowhere to be found in the Chinese records of the Han dynasty. It is quite safe to infer from the various hints found here and there that the government laid taxes on merchandise, while the chief revenue was from the land tax. There was a head tax of sixty-three cash per year in Wu Ti's time, but what became of it in later generations, no one can tell.⁸¹ Unmarried women beyond the age of thirty were to pay sixty cash a year.⁸² On the other hand, the pure women, the filial, the old, the parentless, and the good were usually free from taxation, or paid at one half the rate of others.⁸³ It was the custom of the Western Han, too, to grant people wine and silk at the accession of a new emperor. Whether compulsory military service such as was installed by Ts'in Shih Hwang Ti survived in the Han is questionable. We know, nevertheless, that at the beginning, all prisoners held for minor crimes were compelled to enter the service for national defense.⁸⁴

7. In the royal grants of oxen and wine, women had an equal share. Unusual honors were given to chaste women after their death, and the grants of land and titles to women were an innovation of the dynasty. It is true that in the preceding dynasties women had ruled behind the throne, but the queen of Kao Tsu (Li Shih) became a ruler in fact. Her attempt to kill off all Kao Tsu's sons and to transfer the country to her own family, though a failure, established a precedent which was to be repeated later on and was occasionally to imperil the nation.

8. Very often under the Western Han the emperor was not the sole ruler. The emperors of the Chou diffused their power among the feudal princes, but the Han emperors leaned upon their prime ministers and councillors, to many of whom we must admit the Han dynasty owed its prosperity and development.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* ch. 2, p. 7.

⁸² *Ibid.* ch. 1.

⁸³ *Ibid.* ch. 1.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* ch. 2, p. 8.

Later, moreover, under weaker sovereigns, some favorites actually worked for the destruction of the imperial house. From then on, up to the outbreak of the Revolution in 1912, the government was more than once either in the hands of the queen and her relatives, or of the prime ministers; and often the two would plunge the country into chaos.

We have seen that the administrative systems and traditions of the Han have left many good as well as bad influences. On the whole, it is agreed that the Western Han was one of the most brilliant of the formative periods of Chinese history. It succeeded in organizing a central government upon which the subsequent dynasties laid their basis. It revived the Confucian classics and prepared a civil service basis upon scholarship. In strong contrast with the Chou kings there was a close relationship between the people and the central government. Never before were the monarchs so eager to study the people, their needs and problems; and, on the other hand, never before were the subjects so conscious of their obligation towards the rulers. As a dynasty, the Western Han contributed much to the solidification and the general development of the country.

PHRASE-WORDS AND PHRASE-DERIVATIVES

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THE TRUE CHARACTER of a linguistic phenomenon sometimes fails to be clearly recognized, for no deeper reason than this, that no one has taken the trouble to describe it and propound a good name for it. An apt designation, if it be clear and self-explaining, suggests at once a category in which many seemingly unrelated facts find unity.

‘While we were breakfasting’ is English. ‘He broke his hip by falldowning’ is not. Why? because the combination ‘break fast,’ as is shown by the pronunciation and by the fact that it is under the domain of a single accent, has become what may fitly be called a ‘phrase-word,’ while ‘fall down’ has not become a phrase-word. Derivatives of phrase-words may be styled ‘phrase-derivatives.’ Phrase-words and phrase-derivatives are common in English and Sanskrit and Pāli. These designations may suggest to Anglieists and Indianists and others the interesting task of collecting the facts and studying them. A few examples may be given.

English.—Lady Macbeth’s ‘Letting I-dare-not wait upon I-would.’ Boswell’s ‘A plain matter-of-fact man.’ From a phrase-adjective, good-for-nothing, comes the abstract goodfor-nothing-ness. So straightforward-ness. From the phrase-word et-cetera has been formed the adjective etceter-al: as in ‘the etceteral term of an equation.’ And from pro rata (in proportion) has been made the verb to prorate (assess proportionally). The phrase so-and-so is as truly a word as is its precise Sanskrit equivalent *asāu*. Hence it is entirely licit to give it a genitive inflection and say ‘so-and-so’s oxen.’

Differing from this in degree rather than in kind are the examples given in the ‘funny column’ of the newspaper. Thus: ‘Is that puppy yours or your little brother’s?’ ‘It’s both-of-us’s.’ St. Mark, narrating the betrayal of Jesus, says: ‘And one of them that stood by drew a sword, and smote a servant of the high priest, and cut off his ear.’ A modern lad renders it: ‘He cut off the servant of the high priest’s ear.’ For other examples,

with interesting comment, see *Words and their Ways in English Speech*, by J. B. Greenough and G. L. Kittredge (Macmillan, New York, 1901), p. 188-¹.

On account of their especial clearness as examples may be cited several derivatives. Sir James Murray quotes from Haliburton (1855) the agent-noun *comeout-er*. (See the verb *come*, sense 63 m!!!) Similar is the quite recent coinage, *standpatter*, from *stand pat*, 'take a position that just suits the exigency.' So *standoffish* and *standoffishness*. Sir Walter Scott (1821), in *Kenilworth* (ii.), has: Married he was . . . and a cat-and-dog life she led with Tony. Professor E. S. Sheldon tells me of the Old French *comfaitement* and *sifaitement* (qualiter, taliter) from the phrase-words *com-fait* and *si-fait* (qualis, talis).²

An ecclesiastical council of the sixth century enjoined that if the presbyter could not preach, a deacon should read a homily. Each homily began with the words 'Post illa verba textus' (after those words of the text), and so a homily became known as a postil, and the verb *postillare* was coined as Mediæval Latin for 'read a homily, postillate.' Whether the judicial sentence of 'hanging by the neck,' *suspensio per collum*, was once so frequent as to make a standing abbreviation for it needful, I do not know. The dictionary does in fact book 'sus. per coll.' as such a shortened form, and Thackeray (Denis Duval, i) writes: None of us Duvals have been suspercollated to my knowledge.

From Greek and Latin I have not made collectanea. The prior part of *tautologous* etc., like that of the Greek *ταυτο-λόγος* etc., represents a phrase, *τὸ αὐτό*. Herodotus speaks of 'the people who live beside a river (*παρὰ ποταμῷ*)' as *οἱ παραποτάμοι*. And the title of Iliad 22 is *μάχη παραποτάμος*, quite literally, 'Alongtheriver-ish Combat.' I presume that *ἐνύπνια* are literally

¹ [H. L. Mencken, *The American Language* (New York, 1919), p. 229, quotes *inter alia*: 'That umbrella is the-young-lady-I-go-with's.'—Ed.]

² So the modern *quelque* is a phrase-word. In older French we find *quel* + noun + *que* + verb: see Sheldon in *The Romanic Review*, vol. 10, pages 233-249, and especially 247ff. An unprinted 'doctor dissertation' (of 1906) by John Glanville Gill on *Agglutination as a process of word formation in French* may be consulted in the Harvard Library. French *oui*, 'yes,' was originally *o* (from Latin *hoc*) + the personal pronoun *il*. See A. Tobler in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, 23. 423. Cf. the geographical name *Languedoc* (Provençal *oc* 'yes,' from Latin *hoc*), and the antithetic *langue d' oil*.

'in-a-dream (things),' τὰ ἐν ὑπνῷ ὅρώμενα; and that ultramundanus is a derivative from the phrase-word ultra-mundum. So ultramontanus is from ultra-montem, and not (as the dictionary says) from ultra+montanus.

Sanskrit.—In so early a record as the Rigveda, we find a luculent example of the genesis of a phrase-word. At 9. 1. 5 occurs the couplet:

tuám áchā carāmasi Unto thee do we go
tád íd ártham̄ divé-dive. For this very purpose day-by-day.

But at 8. 2. 16, *vayám . . tadidarthāḥ*, the phrase has crystallized into a single word, a possessive compound, under one single accent, 'we, having-this-very-purpose.' that is, 'we, intent on this.' Whitney, at 1314, under the heading, 'anomalous compounds,' registers 'agglomerations of two or more elements out of phrases.' Most familiar is *itihāsas*, 'story,' from *iti ha āsa*, 'thus, indeed, it was.' Hence *āitihāsikas*, 'story-teller.' So from *iti ha* comes *āitihyam*, 'tradition.' From *na asti*, 'non est (deus),' comes *nāstikas*, 'atheist.' From *punar uktam*, 'again said,' comes *pānuruktyam*, 'tautology.' Quite frequent in ritual books are designations of hymns, made (like Te Deum) from their first words: so *āpohiṣṭhīyam* (sc. *sūktam*), 'the-Since-ye-are-(kindly-)waters-ish (hymn)', for Rigveda 10. 9, which begins with *āpo hí sthā mayobhúvah*.

Pāli.—In Pāli, the coinage of phrase-words and phrase-derivatives runs riot, as does the coinage of denominatives in the ‘English’ of Thomas William Lawson. In so old a text as the Dīgha (1. 132), one who greets you with ‘Come, and welcome’ is called an *ehi-sāgata-vādī*, literally, ‘a-“Come-Welcome”-sayer.’ Nothing could be simpler. The Mahā-vagga (1. 6. 32) tells how, before the Order was established, a monk was summoned to live the Holy Life by the Buddha himself, and with the simple words, ‘Come hither, monk’ (*ehi, bhikkhu*). Such a one is called a ‘Come-hither-monk (monk)’ at Visuddhimagga, 2. 140, and his ordination is ‘Come-hither-monk-ordination,’ *ehi-bhikkhu-upasampadā*. The Majjhima (1. 77. 29), describing a monk who is slack in observing the rules of propriety, says he is not a ‘Come-hither-venerable-Sir-man’ or a ‘Wait-a-bit-venerable-Sir-man,’ *ehibhadantiko, titthabhadantiko*,—here using derivatives of the

phrases *ehi, bhadanta!* and *tiṭṭha, bhadanta!* The Religion or Truth is called (at 1. 37. 21) the 'Come-see-ic Religion,' the *ehipassiko dhammo*, from *ehi, passa*, 'Come, see.' A gāna to Pāṇini (2. 1. 72) gives *ehi-svāgata* and other similar ones.

I suppose that *anto gharam*, 'in the-house,' is strictly a phrase, in which *anto* governs *gharam*. So *anto vassam*, 'in the-rains.' But the whole phrase has won the value of a substantive, 'rainy-season,' so that the combination *antovass-eka-divasam*, 'on a day in the rainy season,' is entirely natural.

The Dhamma-saṅgaṇi uses the phrase *ye vā pana . . . aññe pi atthi . . . dhammā*, 'or whatever other states there are.' (So at § 1, page 9, line 22: cf. pages 17, 18, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, etc.) The commentary, Attha-sālinī (at § 328), quoting § 1 of the text, speaks of these as the *ye-vā-panaka* states, the 'etceter-al' states, the 'whatever-other-al' states. The Visuddhimagga speaks once and again (book 14) of the 'four etceterals,' the *ye-vāpanakā cattāro*.

Phrases containing inflectional forms sometimes occur in derivatives in such a way as not to offend against logic and grammar. Thus *lābhena lābhām nijigim̄sano* means 'desiring-to-win gain by gain.' The abstract therefrom, *lābhena-lābhām-nijigim̄sana-tā* (in Visuddhi, 2) is quite logical. So *idaṁ-atthi-tā*.

Per contra.—Although *tayo ca sañkhārā*, 'and three sañkhāras' (nominative), is quite *en règle*, the Patisambhidā (at 1. 26, p. 97: ed. Taylor), having occasion to speak of them in the genitive, inflects the whole as a crystallized phrase, and says *tayo-ca-sañkhārānam*. In view of this procedure (although very striking, it is easily intelligible), Taylor would have been wholly justified in adopting the ungrammatical lectio difficilior of his mss. S. and M., at p. 58, *catasso-ca-vipassanāsu*. In fact he reads the strictly grammatical *catūsu ca vipassanāsu*. The Dhammapada Commentary (at 3. 38) says that the Teacher gave instruction by a story 'with reference to' (ārabba) 'three groups of persons' (*tayo jāne*: accusative). The title, however, *tayojana-vatthu*, is a compound of *-vatthu* (story) with *tayojana-*, the 'stem' of the crystallized phrase *tayo-jane*.

So-called 'compounds' of which the prior member is a gerund are, strictly speaking, phrase-words. The famous collocation,

paṭicca samuppādo, ‘origination by-going-back-to (a prior cause),’ that is, ‘dependent origination,’ is entirely normal as two words, but it becomes in fact a unit, that is, a single phrase-word. So *paṭicca-samuppanno*, etc. Compare *Buddhe (dhamme, saṅghe) avecca-ppasādo*, at Majjhima 1. 37. The Dhammapada Commentary, at 4. 230, tells of a devout layman who asked his wife about the other Paths, and then at last ‘the question with-a-stepping-beyond, the question with-a-transcending,’ the *atikkamma-pañha*, or ‘the transcendent question.’ ‘Ah,’ says she, ‘if you want to know about *that* question, you must go to the Teacher and put it to *him*.’ The beautifully veiled phrase means of course the question about Arahatship.

Examples might easily be multiplied. Let these suffice to tempt some Pāli student to systematic study of these curious and interesting linguistic phenomena.

BRIEF NOTES

The Sanskrit passive-stem

Its sign is accented *yá*, added to the root. Since the root was unaccented, its form was the weak one: *bandh*, *badh-yá-te*. The grammars, in long succession, state that, before added *ya*, the root undergoes changes: thus final *r* becomes *ri*; final *i* becomes *ī*; and so on.

These changes lose the aspect of irregularity, if we consider that the *ya* of the passive, like the *ya* or *iya* of the gerundive, is often dissyllabic, *i-a*, or (with the 'transition-semivowel' or 'disjunctive semivowel') *i^ya*. Thus *kr-iya-te* becomes *kr-iya-te*; *ci-iya-te* becomes *cīyate*. The *ā*-roots (few in number, but of frequent occurrence) weaken to *ī*: *pā*, *pīyate*. Thus after the powerful analogy of forms like *pīyate*, *cīyate*, even roots in *u* show *ū*: *śru*, *śrūyate*.

To this it may be objected that 'the passive-sign is never resolved into *ia* in the Veda.' So Whitney, *Grammar*, 771g: cf. Edgren, *JAOS* 11, p. iv, Oct. 1878.—'Is the passive *ya* ever resolved into *ia*?' Clearly, in view of the forms like *mriyate*, *hriyate*, *dhriyate*, etc., it is no less a begging of the question to answer this question with 'never,' than it is to say that these forms prove that it is so resolved.

Accordingly let us look at the Prākrits and Pāli. (See Pischel's *Prākrit Gram.*, § 535—; Geiger's *Pāli Gram.*, § 176.) Here are found corresponding forms in abundance which show the formative element *ya* as a true dissyllable: Prākrit, *gamiadi*, *gacchādi*, *sunādi*, *jānādi*, *sumariadi*; Pāli, *sodhiyati* (*śodh-yate*), *māriyati*, *sāriyati*, and so on.

The gerundive (it may be added) is simply a verbal adjective. Latin *laudandus* is properly 'laudable,' just as *faciendus* (and *facilis* no less so) is simply 'do-able.' The Sanskrit gerundives 'formed with *ya*, *tarya*, and *aniya*' are better treated all alike as secondary verbal adjectives in *ya* (in the Veda often *i-a*: see Edgren) or *iya*, from different primary verbal substantives: *kār-ya* (*kār-ia*) from *kāra*; *kartav-ya* from *kartu*; *karaṇ-iya* from *karana*. (Cf. Pischel, § 571; Geiger, § 199.)

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An erroneous etymology of New Persian pādshāh, in relation to the pr. n. Πατιζείθης (Hdt. 3. 61)

Marquart (*Phil. Sup.* 10. 531) was the first to propose that the name of the Magian, the brother of Gaumāta (Pseudo-Smerdis), as given by Herodotus in the form Patizeithes was not a proper name but an official title corrupted from the Anc. Pers. *pati-xšāyaθiya and preserved in the familiar Mod. Pers. *pādshāh*. This theory has found place in later histories and commentaries to such an extent that it has become almost popularly accepted. My argument against this view is based on the phonetic difficulties involved, on the use of the term in the Middle Persian period, and on what I believe is the restoration of the usurper's real Magian title.

It is doubtful if the hypothetical Anc. Pers. *pati-xšāyaθiya would signify 'pro-king, viceroy, regent.' The chief ground for the existence of such a word with the meaning proposed is its apparent connection with Mod. Pers. پادشاه *pādshāh* 'king.' This seems to the writer phonetically impossible. The Anc. Pers. prefix *patiy* becomes in Mod. Pers. *pað*, *paº*, never *pād*. Again, in the Greek transliteration of Anc. Pers. sounds *xš* becomes *ξ* or *σ*, never *ζ* except when medial, *Meyáþvξos* (*baga* 'god' + **buxša* fr. *buj* 'to free'), and in the combination *h-rš*, *Φαραζάθρης* (*farnah* 'glory + *xšaθa*, 'kingdom'). The Anc. Pers. dental tenuis asp. does not become *θ* or *τ* except before *ρ*, e. g. *Μιτρο-*, *Miþpo-* < *Miþra*, but *σ* e. g. *Σατάσπης* (*θata* 'hundred' + *aspa* 'horse'), *Αρτασύρας* (*Arta*, 'divine law' + *θūra* 'strong'). Furthermore such forms of the Magian's name as Πατζάτης (Chron. Alex. 339. 16) and Πανζούθης (Dionysius of Miletus) seem to point to a *Kosename*, based on Av. *paitizanta* fr. *zan*, Anc. Pers. *dan* 'know.' Πανζούθης may not be Greek at all (*πᾶν* + *ξουθός*), but the transliteration of the Iranian *patizanta*. The metathesis of *n* is seen in *Φαρανδάτης* < *furnah* 'glory' + *dāta* 'given.' For *v* < *a*, cf. *Αμντης* < Av. *hu* 'well' + Anc. Pers. **mati*, YAv. *maiti* 'thought'; for *θ* < *t*, cf. *φ* < *p* in *Μαφάτης* < Anc. Pers. *māh* 'month' + *pāta* 'protected.'

The New Pers. *pādišāh*, *pādshāh* was given originally to the monarch as a supreme title of honor and only later was extended to subordinate rulers. This would preclude any designation of power delegated from the king which Marquart would see in the

prefix *patiy*. The *prius* of the Mod. Pers. compound is more probably to be found in the Anc. Pers. *pā* 'protect.' The *nomen agentis* *pātar* 'protector' would appear in the Mod. Pers. as *pād*, cf. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 887, Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, 35. The Mod. Pers. *pādišāh* < Anc. Pers. *pātar* + *xšāyaθiya*, 'protector-king' would illustrate Iranian *r* changed into *i* as in New Pers. *giriftah*, Bal. *gupta*, cf. Av. *gərəpta* 'seized'; New Pers. *χirs* cf. Av. *arəša* 'bear'; New Pers. *dil*, Bal. *zirdī*, cf. Av. *zərəθaya* 'heart'; New Pers. *tiš*, cf. Av. *taršna* 'thirst.' Cf. change of Skt. *r* to *i* in the Indian dialects, Skt. *krta*, Prak. *kita*; Skt. *ghrta*, Bang. *ghi*, Sindhi *gihu*, Anglo-Indian *ghee*, cf. Gray, *Indo-Iranian Phonology*, 71.

Herodotus (3. 61) states that Cambyses had left Patizeithes *τῶν οἰκίων μελεδωνόν*. If this is not a title but his real name as Hdt. implies, we find his Magian designation in *Oropastes* (Justin. 1. 9.). This reverses the now generally accepted theory which would find in the latter the proper name and in the former the title. The derivation of *Oropastes* is clear—*prius* Anc. Pers. *aura* 'lord,' *posteriorus upastā* 'aid.' Just as his brother Gaumāta (*nomen proprium* as given in the Behistan Inscription) bore the Magian appellation Σφενδαδάτης according to Ctesias, *Pers.* 10, which is the YAv. *spəntōdāta*, 'created by the Holy,' so we can believe that in **auraupasta* 'possessing the help of the Lord' we restore the Magian title of Patizeithes.

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A possible Sumerian original of the name Nimrod

According to the tradition recorded in the genealogical tablet, Gen. 10. 8 ff., Nimrod, son of Cush, founded the empire of Babylonia. This Nimrod is mentioned in v. 8, as having been 'the first great warrior in the land' (this seems to be the meaning of the words: הַחַל לְהִיוֹת גָּבָר בָּאָרֶץ), and in v. 9 it is stated that Nimrod was a 'great warrior hunter before Jahve,' i. e., so great as to attract the attention of Jahve *הָא הִיּה גָּבָר צַדְּקָה לִפְנֵי* ('*הָוֹה*'), a tradition which does not appear to have any connection with the rest of the text. For this reason some scholars have concluded that verse 9 is a gloss (Procksch, *Die Genesis*, 1912, p. 74).

Admitting that v. 9 may be an interpolation, there must have been some reason in the mind of the glossator for the assertion that Nimrod was a hunter of distinction. One's first instinct would be to seek the cause of such a tradition, but, unfortunately, the Biblical Nimrod has not been successfully identified with any Babylonian hero and especially with no one who was specifically devoted to the chase.

Thus, the name *Nimrod* has of recent years been subjected to the following analyses: Nimrod = Nin-Murda, Maynard, *AJS* 34, p. 30, cf. Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, 1916, pp. 93 ff.; Nam-urta = the god Ninib (Procksch, *op. cit.*, p. 74); Nimrod = Namir-udda, a supposed epithet of the god Ninib, Jeremias, *Light on the Old Testament from the East*, 1, p. 290. Here should be noted also Hommel's derivation: Nimrod = Namra-uddu, *PSBA* 15 (1893), pp. 291 ff., 'shining light,' a view opposed by Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 104 ff.; etc.¹

Dr. Emil Kraeling has suggested that Nimrod was an Amorite who came to Babylonia from southern Arabia (*Aram and Israel*, 1918, pp. 13 ff.). More recently, in the Assyrian Seminar of Columbia University, Dr. Kraeling is now inclined to connect Nimrod historically with Lugal-Banda, a mythological king mentioned in Poebel, *Historical Texts*, 1914, whose seat was at the city Marad, now known to be the modern Wanna Sedoum, west of Nippur on the Euphrates (Clay, *Misc. Inscr.*, notes to No. 10, and Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 220). Following Delitzsch (*Sum. Glossar*, p. 206), who derives the name Nimrod from a supposed *nu-Marad* 'man of Marad,' Kraeling suggests rather *en-Marad* = *Lugal-Marad* (*en* = *lugal*, 'king'), whom he identifies with *Lugal-Marrada* = ^dMaš, Br. 12536; viz., ^dMaš = Ninib, Clay, *Amurru*, 1909, pp. 126 ff. Hence Nimrod = Ninib (?).

The king Lugal-Banda, however, was not noted as a hunter. The only two great Babylonian heroes distinguished in the chase were Dumuzi (Tammuz), who was killed while hunting boar (Jeremias, *Altoriental. Geisteskultur*, pp. 270 ff.), and the renowned *Gilgameš*, whose name, however, contains no suggestion of hunting and has no connection with the name Nimrod (Prince, 'Note sur le nom Gilgameš,' *Babylonica*, 1907, pp. 63-65).

A second suggestion of Dr. Kraeling's is that *Nimrod* may have

¹ For other opinions, cf. the material in Gesenius-Buhl, p. 501.

been an epithet of the first great Semitic Babylonian king Hammurapi, who, however, was not distinguished in the chase, but, like the Biblical Nimrod, was an empire builder, which would correspond with the expansion attributed to Nimrod, Gen. 10. 10 ff., and, so far as the historicity of Nimrod is concerned, it is highly probable that we have in this obscure character a reminiscence of early Semitic territorial extensions in the Euphrates valley. But it is doubtful whether Hammurapi is intended.

How can the description of Nimrod as a great hunter in the presumably glossated text of Gen. 10. 9, be accounted for? In the absence of any known tradition confirming this statement, the next step would be to examine the form *Nimrod* itself, to discover whether the name does not offer some suggestion of the chase. Assuming *Nimrod* to be a Sumerian name or epithet, it is highly probable that the first syllable *nim* contains the Sum. *nin*, with gloss *ni-ni* (Del. *Glossar*, p. 204) = *cāidu*, occurring in *lu edin ni-ni* (= *kili*), 'field huntsman.' That this stem *nin* (*ni-ni*) is identical with *nigin* = *sarāru*, 'turn, seek,' which itself contains *gin*, *gi* = *tāru*, 'turn around, seek,' is highly likely. In *nin-nini*, the final *n* was probably nasal *ng*, as in the equation *gi* = *ni* = 'man' (also = *lu* = *nu*, 'man'; Prince, *JAOS* 39, pp. 270, 275). This *nin-nini* also has the meaning *napxaru*, 'entirety,' a variant of *saxāru*, 'surround,' in which sense the sign has the val. *kili* = nasal *k* + *l* = *n* = *ningi-ningin*.

The element *-rod* in *Nimrod* is more difficult. It may stand for Sum. *gud*² = *ellum* 'bright, distinguished' (*Glossar*, p. 215), a very common epithet. In this case, *ning-b'ud* = 'distinguished hunter.' It is, however, possible that a later tradition may have confounded this guttural *gud* with *gud* = *qarradu* (*Glossar*, 108), the exact equivalent of the Biblical נִמְרוֹד. If this supposition is correct, *Nimrod* is merely the original of the rendering נִמְרוֹד. This suggestion has never been made before, so far as I know, and would serve to explain the introduction of the supposed gloss, Gen. 10. 9, implying that the glossator connected the idea of a huntsman with the name *Nimrod*.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE

Columbia University.

² Variant *bad* = *ellum*, *ebbum*, 'shining, distinguished' (*Glossar*, p. 209).

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY
AT THE MEETING IN ITHACA, N. Y., 1920

The annual sessions of the Society, forming its one hundred and thirty-second regular meeting, were held in Ithaca, N. Y., at Cornell University, on Tuesday and Wednesday of Easter Week, April 6 and 7, 1920.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Abbott	Griswold	Lybyer	Schmidt
Abbott, Mrs.	Haupt	Montgomery	Schoff
Barbour	Hopkins	Nies	Torrey
Barret	Hyde	Ogden	Waterman
Bates, Mrs.	Jackson	Olmstead	Westphal
Berry	Jackson, Mrs.	Popper	
Brockwell	Jastrow	Sanders	
Edgerton, F.	Lanman	Saunders, Mrs.	[Total: 29]

THE FIRST SESSION

The first session was held on Tuesday morning beginning at 9:45 A. M., in Goldwin Smith Hall, the President, Professor Lanman, being in the chair. The reading of the Proceedings at Philadelphia in 1919 was dispensed with, as they had already been printed in the JOURNAL (39.129-151): there were no corrections and they were approved as printed.

Prof. Schmidt, as Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, presented the report of the Committee in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Tuesday afternoon at half past two, Wednesday morning at half past nine, Wednesday afternoon at half past two, and Thursday morning at half past nine. The session of Wednesday afternoon was to be devoted to the presentation of papers on the historical study of religions, and papers of a more general character. It was announced that on Tuesday at 1 P. M. the President and Trustees of Cornell University would entertain

the members at a luncheon in Prudence Risley Hall; that local friends would take the members on an automobile excursion Tuesday at 4:30 P. M., after which the members would dine together at the Forest Home Tea Room; that the members would gather at the house of the Telluride Club for an informal reception Tuesday evening; that the members would have luncheon together at the Ithaca Hotel on Wednesday at 1 P. M.; that there would be a special organ recital in Sage Chapel on Wednesday at 5:15 P. M.; and that the annual subscription dinner would take place in Prudence Risley Hall on Wednesday at 7:30 P. M.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Charles J. Ogden, presented the following report:

The rather miscellaneous duties of the Corresponding Secretary are hard to summarize; but they are in the main the arrangement of the formal program of the Annual Meeting, the noting of changes affecting the membership, and the conducting of correspondence with other Societies and organizations.

There is little for the Secretary to say about the program of the sessions, since, tho he has been engaged in learning both from precedent and by experience, he is as yet more able to receive suggestions than to make them. Also the problem of coping with the increasing output of the Members' learned zeal has been evaded this year thru our escaping from cities into a thoroly academic atmosphere where we can enjoy a meeting of a manageable size. The sixth session decreed by the resolution passed at the last meeting (see the JOURNAL, 39, 134) has therefore been omitted, as it is altogether likely that five sessions will give time enough for the presentation in full of all papers and for ample discussion.

The report concerning the membership can best be stated thru statistics. The list of corporate members, as it was at the opening of the meeting in 1919, contained 359 names. At that meeting 24 persons were elected to membership, and three former members were reinstated during the year, the total accessions to the list being 27. The losses during the past twelve months have been: deaths reported, 13; formal resignations, 4; names dropped from the list, 13; total losses, 30. There are therefore at present 356 names in the list of corporate members, which registers a net loss of 3 for the year; but it is unnecessary to emphasize these figures, since they will very soon be made obsolete when the unprecedentedly large list of persons recommended for membership is laid before the meeting.

One honorary member, Sir Arthur Evans, was elected at the last meeting to fill the only vacancy then known to exist, and he has signified his accept-

ance of membership. Two deaths reported during the past year leave two vacancies to be filled in the roll of honorary members.

It is now the duty of the Secretary to report to the Society the names of those members whose deaths have been brought to his notice since the last meeting.

PROFESSOR ERNST WINDISCH, of the University of Leipzig, a scholar whose activities embraced the extremes of Indo-European philology, since his studies ranged from Old Irish to Sanskrit and Pali. In the Oriental field his edition of the *Itivuttaka* and his articles on Buddhist legend and doctrine have been of especial value. Elected an honorary member in 1890. Died on October 30, 1918. [See *JRAS* 1919, pp. 299-306.]

PROFESSOR LEONARD W. KING, Assistant Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, and professor in King's College, London. He was widely known for his work in editing Babylonian tablets and the great Behistan Inscription and for his books on Babylonian history. Elected an honorary member in 1917. Died on August 20, 1919. [See *AJSL* 36. 89-94.]

MR. J. NELSON ROBERTSON, of Toronto, Canada. Elected in 1913. Died in December, 1918.

DR. PAUL CARUS, of La Salle, Ill., editor of *The Open Court*. He was primarily interested in philosophy, but had written extensively on Oriental religions, notably on Buddhism. Elected in 1897. Died on February 11, 1919. [See memorial number of *The Open Court*, Sept., 1919.]

MR. GUSTAV A. VON BRAUCHITSCH, fellow in Semitics at the University of Chicago. Elected in 1917. Died on April 2, 1919.

PROFESSOR CRAWFORD H. TOY, of Cambridge, Mass., for twenty-nine years Professor of Hebrew and cognate subjects at Harvard University, and one of the pioneers in America of the critical study of the Old Testament. Elected in 1871. President of the Society in the year 1906-7, being the first President to be elected under the system of annual rotation. Died on May 12, 1919. [See *AJSL* 36. 1-17.]

MR. GERARD ALSTON REICHLING, of Brooklyn, N. Y., a young scholar of promise, who contributed an article to the *JOURNAL* only a short time before his death. Elected in 1912. Died on June 18, 1919.

PROFESSOR W. MAX MÜLLER, of the University of Pennsylvania, one of the most distinguished Egyptologists in America, and an active member of this Society. Elected in 1905. Died on July 12, 1919.

MRS. JANE DOWS NIES, of Brooklyn, N. Y., wife of the Rev. Dr. James B. Nies, and herself a supporter of Oriental studies thru her gifts to this Society and to the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. Elected in 1916, and from that time a life member. Died on September 16, 1919.

DR. FRANKLIN CARTER, of Williamstown, Mass., president of Williams College from 1881 to 1901. Elected in 1873. Died on November 22, 1919.

M. VICTOR SEGALEN, Médecin-major, Brest, France. Elected in 1919. Died during the year 1919.

DR. SOLOMON T. H. HURWITZ, of New York City, editor of *The Jewish*

Forum, professor in the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, and a leader in Jewish higher education. Elected in 1912. Died on January 12, 1920. [See memorial number of *The Jewish Forum*, Feb., 1920.]

Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, of Canton Corner, Mass., formerly pastor of the First Congregational Parish in Canton. Elected in 1874. Died on January 31, 1920.

Professor EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY, of the University of Texas, where for twenty-one years he had been Professor of Latin. His scholarly activities, however, extended into the wider domain of comparative Indo-European philology, especially in its relation to the classical languages and Sanskrit, and his brilliant and ingenious discussions of etymological problems had won for him an international reputation. His death is a serious loss to this Society, for, tho unable to attend its meetings often, he has been a frequent contributor to the JOURNAL on Indo-Iranian topics. Elected in 1888. Died on February 17, 1920.

Mr. CHARLES MARTYN PRYNNE, of Boston, Mass. Elected in 1919. Died during the year 1919-20.

Among the external affairs of the Society there has been only one matter of prime importance to note; namely, the Conference of Learned Societies held in Boston last September, and the consequent organization, in February of this year, of the American Council of Learned Societies Devoted to Humanistic Studies. This topic, however, need not be elaborated here, as it has been summarized in the February number of the JOURNAL (40. 77-80) and has thus been brought, at least constructively, to the members' notice.

The efforts of the Corresponding Secretary to obtain some preliminary consensus of opinion by sending a circular letter to the officers and Directors of the Society have made him believe that a board of eighteen persons is too unwieldy to function between meetings of the Society and that a smaller Executive Council, as has been already suggested, could in the interval deal with urgent questions, under proper limitations. Such a power is doubtless inherent in the President; but as he is apt to be a distinguished, and therefore a busy, man, and likewise duly sensible of the brevity of his tenure, he cannot well be compelled to exercise it. And that the Corresponding Secretary, by reason of his strategic position in respect to the Society's affairs and his comparative permanency in office, should assume the right of decision, would be a consequence from which he must be saved if need be in spite of himself.

The Secretary cannot end this report without expressing his appreciation of the cordial co-operation that he has received from the officers and the members of the Society in general, both in answering his requests for information, and in other ways. Especially is it his duty and his pleasure to thank his predecessors in office, Professors Jackson and Edgerton, and the President of the Society, Professor Lanman, for putting at his disposal their stores of precedents and their practical wisdom. Of whatever has been accomplished the merit is theirs.

Upon motion the report of the Corresponding Secretary was accepted. Brief remarks were made concerning several late members: Professor Jastrow spoke of Max Müller; Professors Hopkins, Lanman and Barret of E. W. Fay; Professor Montgomery of Mrs. J. B. Nies; Professors Hopkins and Haupt of E. Windisch; Professors Lanman and Jastrow of Crawford H. Toy; and Professor Waterman of Leonard W. King.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Corresponding Secretary presented the report of the Treasurer, Prof. A. T. Clay:

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1919

Receipts

Balance from old account Dec. 31, 1918	\$3,326.83
Annual dues	1,540.10
Interest on bonds:	
Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Ry.	\$120.00
Lackawanna Steel Co.	100.00
Virginia Railway Co.	50.00
Minneapolis General Electric Co.	50.00
J. B. Nies, for the Encyclopedia of Islam	50.00
Publication Fund	77.50
Old plates sold	5.52
Sale of publications	456.54
Interest on deposit	169.30
	<hr/>
	\$5,945.79

Expenditures

* \$50.00 for the preceding year.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The report of the Auditing Committee was presented by Professor Hopkins:

We hereby certify that we have examined the account of the Treasurer of the Society and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries with the vouchers and the account book as held for the Society by the Treasurer of Yale University, and have found all correct.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS,
F. W. WILLIAMS,
Auditors.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., March 15, 1920.

On motion the Treasurer's report and that of the Auditing Committee were accepted; and a suggestion from the Auditing Committee concerning the investment of funds was referred to the Directors for report.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The Corresponding Secretary presented the report of the Librarian, Prof. A. T. Clay, and upon motion it was accepted:

Periodicals have been added to catalogue cards, marked and placed on shelves to date. New accessions, including both periodicals and books, are now being catalogued. Mr. Paul, a graduate student, has looked over the books and manuscripts in the Tamil and Bengali languages, and has made additions to the catalogue cards which were already made for them.

Accessions to the Library of the American Oriental Society

Mar. 1919—Jan. 1920

'Abd al-Karim ibn Muhammad al-Sam'ani. The Kitab al-ansab reproduced from the ms. in the British museum. 1912. (E. J. W. Gibb memorial series. v. 20.)

Banerjee, G. N. Hellenism in ancient India. 1919.

Bhandarkar, D. R. Lectures on the ancient history of India . . . 650 to
325 B. C. 1919.

Bloomfield, M. The life and stories of the Jaina Savior Pārvanātha. 1919.

Calcutta university commission report (1-5).

Claretie, L. Nos frères roumains.

De Roo de la Faille, P. Iets over Oud-Batavia. (Popular-wetenschappelijke serie, no. I.)

Gann, T. W. F. The Maya Indians of southern Yucatan and northern British Honduras. 1918. (Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American ethnology. Bulletin, 64.)

Giuffrida-Ruggeri, V. Prime linee di un' antropologia sistematica dell' Asia. 1919.

Holmes, W. H. Handbook of aboriginal American antiquities. 1919.

Journal of Jewish lore and philosophy, v. 1, no. 2.

Kaplun-Kogan, W. W. Die jüdischen Wanderbewegungen in der neuesten Zeit (1880-1914). 1919.

Krom, N. J. De sumatraansche Periode der javaansche Geschiedenis. 1919.

Laufer, B. Sino-Iranica. Chinese contributions to the history of civilization in ancient Iran. 1919.

Le Nain, L. Rapport succinct sur l'état du palais des académies après le départ des Allemands. 1919.

Marseille. Chambre de commerce. Congrès français de la Syrie, 3, 4, et 5 janvier 1919. Séances et travaux, fasc. II.

Al-Mokattam, a daily Arabic newspaper. June-Aug. 1919.

Narasimhachar, R. The Kesava temple at Belur. 1919. (Mysore archaeological series.)

The New China Review, v. 1. 1918.

Parmentier, H. Inventaire descriptif des monuments cams de l'Annam, t. II.

Pratt, I. A., comp. Armenia and the Armenians, a list of references in the New York Public Library. 1919.

The South Indian research, a monthly journal of researches, v. 1, no. 3-4.

Stein, A. A third journey of exploration in Central Asia. 1913-16.

Tuttle, E. H. Dravidian S. Repr. from Am. jour. of philology, v. 40, 1919.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL

Prof. J. A. Montgomery, Senior Editor of the JOURNAL, presented the report of the Editors, and upon motion it was accepted:

The five Parts of the JOURNAL for 1919 have appeared very closely to schedule time. We have received more than the usual amount of copy, which has been delayed in printing because we have not yet returned to the pre-war size of the JOURNAL, the volume for 1919 containing 352 pages against 460 pages of the volume for 1914-15. Unfortunately it is more than ever obvious that only a considerably larger income will enable us to

return to the original quantum, for with the new year the printers notified us that their rates would be increased between 20 and 25%. We have been advised that in the present state of the printing business we must accept the situation. The Editors are practising all possible economy. Among other economies they must now require that authors shall furnish copy in final shape or else bear the cost of changes in composition. They would urge upon contributors the virtue of condensation and the sacrifice of any but necessary display of foreign types.

Included in the last year's printing bill were items for printing a large number of offprints of the very timely Presidential Address and of a brochure containing the papers on the proposed School of Living Oriental Languages which has been widely distributed by the appropriate Committee.

As the Treasurer's report will show, we came off very cheaply in paying our outstanding printing bill in Germany, at about one-sixth of the normal rates. Although this bill was paid in the latter part of the summer we have not yet received from the Messrs. Drugulin the missing copies of the Parts of Volumes 34 and 35, which were held up by the War. A letter from the Messrs. Drugulin of date Jan. 22 advised us that they were at once shipping the missing numbers but these have not yet been received.

The Editors would recommend supplying libraries and other learned institutions with the JOURNAL at the same rates as to members.

A suggestion was made from the floor that abstracts of papers announced for the sessions be printed for distribution before the meeting; upon motion the matter was referred to the Editors of the JOURNAL and the Corresponding Secretary with power.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were elected members of the Society; the list includes some elected at a later session:

HONORARY MEMBERS

Rév. Père Vincent Scheil, Member of the Institute, Paris, France.

Dr. Frederick W. Thomas, Librarian of the India Office, London, England.

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Prof. William Frederic Badè,
Mr. Oscar Berman,
Mr. Isaac W. Bernheim,
Prof. Campbell Bonner,
Prof. Edward I. Bosworth,
Miss Emilie Grace Briggs,
Prof. C. A. Brodie Brockwell,
Mr. Leo M. Brown,

Prof. John M. Burnam,
Rev. Isaac Cannaday,
Mr. Alfred M. Cohen,
Dr. George H. Cohen,
Rabbi Dr. Henry Cohen,
Mr. Kenneth Colegrove,
Prof. Frank Leighton Day,
Mr. Robert E. Dengler,

Rabbi Dr. Israel Elfenbein,
Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman,
Rabbi Joseph L. Fink,
Rabbi Leo M. Franklin,
Mr. Maurice J. Freiberg,
Mr. Sigmund Frey,
Prof. Israel Friedlaender,
Mr. Dwight Goddard,
Rabbi Dr. S. H. Goldenson,
Rabbi Solomon Goldman,
Mr. Philip J. Goodhart,
Rev. Dr. Herbert Henry Gowen,
Mr. M. E. Greenebaum,
Rev. Dr. J. R. Griswold,
Pres. William W. Guth,
Dr. George Ellery Hale,
Prof. W. H. P. Hatch,
Mr. Daniel P. Hays,
Mrs. Edward L. Heinsheimer,
Rabbi James G. Heller,
Prof. Max Heller,
Mr. B. Hirshberg,
Mr. Theodore Hofeller,
Mr. G. F. Hoff,
Prof. Alice M. Holmes,
Mr. Samuel Horchow,
Prof. Walter W. Hyde,
Ikbal Ali Shah,
Rabbi Edward L. Israel,
Mr. Melvin M. Israel,
Prof. F. J. Foakes Jackson,
Miss Alice Judson,
Mr. Julius Kahn,
Mr. Vahan H. Kalandarian,
Mr. I. Keyfitz,
Mr. Eugene Klein,
Rev. Dr. Emil G. H. Kraeling,
Mr. Harold Albert Lamb,
Mr. D. A. Leavitt,
Mr. Samuel J. Levinson,
Mrs. Lee Loeb,
Rev. Arnold Look,
Rev. Dr. Chester Charlton McCown,
Mr. Ralph W. Mack,
Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin,
Prof. Henry Malter,

Rabbi Jacob R. Marcus,
Mr. Ralph Marcus,
Mr. Arthur William Marget,
Mr. Harry S. Margolis,
Mr. H. J. Marshall,
Prof. D. Roy Mathews,
Rabbi Dr. Eli Mayer,
Mr. Henry Meis,
Mr. Myron M. Meyerovitz,
Rabbi Louis A. Mischkind,
Rev. Hugh A. Moran,
Mr. Effingham B. Morris,
Rev. Thomas Kinloch Nelson,
Mr. Herbert C. Ottinger,
Mr. Robert Leet Patterson,
Mr. Harold Peirce,
Dr. Joseph Louis Perrier,
Dr. Arnold Peskind,
Mr. Julius I. Peyser,
Mr. Robert Henry Pfeiffer,
Mr. Julian A. Pollak,
Mr. Carl E. Pretz,
Rabbi Dr. Max Raisin,
Prof. H. M. Ramsey,
Prof. Joseph Ranschoff,
Mr. Marcus Rauh,
Prof. John H. Raven,
Rev. A. K. Reischauer,
Mr. Robert Thomas Riddle,
Mr. Julius Rosenwald,
Rabbi Samuel Sale,
Rabbi Dr. Marcus Salzman,
Mr. Jacob H. Schiff,
Mr. John F. Schlichting,
Prof. John A. Scott,
Mr. Max Senior,
Mr. Gyokshu Shibata,
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
Mr. Hiram Hill Sipes,
Mr. Jack H. Skirball,
Prof. Edmund D. Soper,
Mr. Alexander Spanakidis,
Prof. Wallace N. Stearns,
Dr. W. Stede,
Mr. A. J. Sunstein,
Prof. Leo Suppan,

Mr. I. Newton Trager,
Mr. David Arthur Turnure,
Mr. Dudley Tyng,
Mrs. John King Van Rensselaer,
Mr. Ludwig Vogelstein,
Mr. Morris F. Westheimer,
Mr. Milton C. Westphal,

Mr. Peter Wiernik,
Mr. Herman Wile,
Prof. Clarence Russell Williams,
Prof. Curt Paul Wimmer,
Mr. Louis Gabriel Zelson,
Mr. Joseph Solomon Zuckerbaum,
Rev. Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer.

[TOTAL: 122.]

Upon motion it was voted that the thanks of the Society be extended to the Committee on the Enlargement of Membership and Resources, and particularly to the Chairman, Prof. Morgenstern, for zealous and efficient work.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR 1920-1921

Dr. J. B. Nies for the Committee on Nomination of Officers reported as follows:

President—Professor Talcott Williams, of Columbia University.

Vice-Presidents—Professor Paul Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University; Dr. Archer M. Huntington, of New York City; Professor Albert Howe Lybyer, of the University of Illinois.

Corresponding Secretary—Dr. Charles J. Ogden, of New York City.

Recording Secretary—Professor LeRoy Carr Barret, of Trinity College.

Treasurer—Professor Albert T. Clay, of Yale University.

Librarian—Professor Albert T. Clay, of Yale University.

Editors of the Journal—Professor James A. Montgomery, of the University of Pennsylvania; Professor Franklin Edgerton, of the University of Pennsylvania.

Directors, term expiring 1923—Dr. Justin Edwards Abbott, of Summit, N. J.; Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia University; Professor Charles Rockwell Lanman, of Harvard University.

The officers thus nominated were duly elected.

Upon motion reports of other committees were deferred.

The President, Prof. C. R. LANMAN of Harvard University, delivered an address on 'India and the West' [to be printed in the JOURNAL].

At the luncheon which followed adjournment of the first session Dean J. E. Creighton of the Graduate School made an address of welcome, acting in behalf of President Schurman who was at the time on a mission to Japan.

THE SECOND SESSION

The second session was called to order by President Lanman at 2:30 o'clock on Tuesday afternoon. The reading of papers was immediately begun:

Professor M. JASTROW, JR., of the University of Pennsylvania: Two New Fragments of a Sumerian Code of Laws. Remarks by Professor Haupt.

A discussion of two texts recently published by Dr. H. F. Lutz (Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts, Philadelphia, 1919) containing fragments of laws dealing with agricultural regulations and with family relationships. A comparison of the fragments with the Hammurabi Code shows only a general dependence of the latter with many variations. Differences between the Sumerian and Babylonian regulations throw an interesting light on shifting in social conditions in Ancient Babylonia.

Professor F. EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: Evil-wit, No-wit, and Honest-wit. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] Remarks by Professors Lanman and Hopkins.

Professor N. SCHMIDT, of Cornell University: (a) Traces of Early Acquaintance in Europe with Ethiopic Enoch; (b) The First German Translation of Ethiopic Enoch. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] Remarks by Professors Jackson and Montgomery.

Professor G. R. BERRY, of Colgate University: The Psalms called Songs of Ascents. Remarks by Professors Haupt and Jastrow.

Professor L. C. BARRET, of Trinity College: The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Eight. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.]

Professor C. R. LANMAN, of Harvard University: (a) Phrase-derivatives; (b) The Sanskrit Passive-formative, ya or iya. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] Remarks by Professors Haupt and Ogden.

At 4:25 P. M. the Society took a recess to enjoy an automobile ride.

THE THIRD SESSION

The third session was called to order by President Lanman at 9:45 o'clock on Wednesday morning. Some additional nominees for membership, included in the list already given, were duly elected.

It was announced that the next meeting of the Society would be held in Baltimore at Johns Hopkins University and at Goucher College on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter Week, March 29, 30, and 31, 1921.

Upon recommendation of the Directors it was voted to amend

ARTICLE V of the Constitution so that the present wording thereof shall be denominated SECTION 1; and to add thereto the following:

SECTION 2. An Executive Committee, consisting of the President, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer, and two other Directors each elected for a term of two years, shall be constituted by the Board of Directors. The Executive Committee shall have power to take action provisionally in the name of the Society on matters of importance which may arise between meetings of the Society or of the Board of Directors, and on which, in the Committee's opinion, action cannot be postponed without injury to the interests of the Society. Notice of all actions taken by the Executive Committee shall be printed as soon as possible in the JOURNAL, and shall be reported to the Directors and the Society at the succeeding annual meeting. Unless such actions, after being thus duly advertised and reported, are disapproved by a majority vote of the members present at any session of the succeeding annual meeting, they shall be construed to have been ratified and shall stand as actions of the Society.

Upon recommendation of the Directors it was voted to amend By-Law VII so that as amended it shall read:

VII. All members shall be entitled to one copy of all current numbers of the JOURNAL issued during their membership. Back volumes of the JOURNAL shall be furnished to members at twenty percent reduction from the list price. All other publications of the Society may be furnished to members at such reductions in price as the Directors may determine.

Upon motion it was voted that greetings from the Society be sent to the newly organized Palestine Oriental Society, and that it be placed on the exchange list.

For the Directors it was reported that they had voted to send as a gift to the Library of the University of Louvain a set of the JOURNAL.

Professor Lanman reported for the Committee on Co-operation with other Oriental Societies, as follows:

Delegates of the Société Asiatique, American Oriental Society, and Scuola Orientale (of Rome), met in joint-session with the Royal Asiatic Society, at London, September 3-6, 1919. The representatives of our Society were Professors Breasted, Clay, Woods, and Worrell.

[A full account of the meeting is given in Number 1 of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1920, pages 123-162. This number arrived in Cambridge, Massachusetts, between April 5th and 8th, 1920, that is, while the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society was in progress at Ithaca, and so too late for oral presentation.]

Report upon plans concerning the progress of Semitic and related studies may best be left to the competent hands of Professors Breasted and Clay and Worrell, who have not yet returned from Egypt and Palestine. And as the issues of our Journal are now frequent, the delay need not be serious. On the other hand, a brief report upon the projected General Dictionary of Buddhism, drawn up by Professor Woods, who came back to America soon after the meeting, may well be submitted herewith.

At a meeting of the officers of the joint-session, including M. Senart, Professors Finot, Sylvain Lévi, Macdonell, and Woods, Dr. F. W. Thomas, and Sir George Grierson, it was decided to plan a General Dictionary of Buddhism, with special reference to biography, history, geography, doctrine, and philosophical technique, and in the form of short and precise definitions or articles, and with characteristic passages from the printed texts.

The point of departure would be the vocabulary of Rosenberg (Tokyo, 1916). The first undertaking would be to collect on uniform cards the words already assigned to local groups of workers: a Japanese group, a Cingalese group, an Indian group at Caleutta, and a Tibetan group at Darjeeling or Petrograd. Provisional arrangements for these centres of study have already been made. The revision and editing, especially of the historical and geographical cards, would be the work of the Western members.

The Chairman of the Committee for the conduct of the undertaking is Sylvain Lévi of the Collège de France. With him are associated Dr. Thomas of the India Office Library, and Professor Woods of Harvard. The services of those who make the collections will have to be paid for and there will be (besides necessary incidentals) clerical expenses. A budget of say six thousand dollars will be required. It is proposed to prepare a circular letter to be sent to persons interested in furthering such scholarly work in the various countries,—the letter to be approved and signed by the four bodies already represented at the joint-meeting.

On behalf of the above Committee, Professor Woods asks that the American Oriental Society give its general approval to this undertaking and join the other societies in signing the letter thus approved.

It was voted that the matter of relations be referred back to the Committee for further report.

Professor Jastrow offered the reports of several Committees.

The Publication Committee reported some progress.

The Committee on the Establishment of a School of Living Oriental Languages reported that it had discovered sympathy for the project in important quarters.

The Committee on Enlargement of Membership and Resources pointed to the nominations for membership as its report.

It was voted that members be requested to send to Professor Morgenstern suggestions regarding new members.

The Committee on Honorary Associates reported progress.

The Committee on the Statement of Scope, Character, Aims, and Purposes of Oriental Studies reported inability to prepare a suitable statement and asked to be discharged.

The Committee on the Formation of a National Academy of Humanities reported progress.

At this point it was voted: that the American Oriental Society ratify and it does hereby ratify, the convention and constitution of the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies. This constitution has already been printed in the *JOURNAL* (40. 78 f.).

It was also voted: that the Society's delegates to the Academic Council just mentioned be appointed by the Directors.

The Committee on the Interests of the American School in Jerusalem gave a brief report on the activities of the school during the last year.

The Committee on a Plan for Archaeological Exploration in the Near East reported that Professor Breasted is now in that region looking over the ground.

At this point the presentation of papers was resumed.

Mrs. A. H. SAUNDERS, of New York: Some Literary Aspects of the Absence of Tragedy in the Sanskrit Drama. Remarks by Professors Edger-ton, Jastrow, Ogden, Jackson, and Brockwell.

This paper is a consideration of the loss of possibly great tragedies through the rules of dramaturgy against unhappy endings for Sanskrit plays.

Mr. W. H. SCHOFF, of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum: Cinnamon, Cassia, and Somaliland. [To be printed in the *JOURNAL*.] Remarks by Professors Torrey, Ogden and Haupt.

Mr. P. L. BARBOUR, of New York: Some Observations regarding the Burushaski Language of Northern Kashmir. Remarks by Professors Haupt and Brockwell.

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to certain features of this unclassified language of Northwestern India. The peculiarities particularly noted are:

(1) a system of pronominalizing or adding a pronominal prefix to the various words, be they noun, adjective, or verb, which express the idea of family relationship, or name the parts of the body or concepts of the mind;

(2) the use of a vigesimal system in counting.

In conclusion the author expresses his desire to investigate the language at first hand.

Professor C. A. B. BROCKWELL, of McGill University: Some of the basic principles of the science and art of measuring time, as used among the early Mediterranean peoples. Remarks by Professors Haupt and Jastrow.

Rev. Dr. J. E. ABBOTT, of Summit, N. J.: Maloba, the Maratha Saint. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] Remarks by Professor Jackson.

The President announced the appointment of the following committees:

On Arrangements for the meeting in Baltimore in 1921: Professors Haupt, Bloomfield, and Dougherty, and the Corresponding Secretary.

On Nominations for the year 1921-1922: Professors Jastrow and Schmidt and Dr. W. N. Brown.

Auditors for 1920-1921: Professors F. W. Williams and Torrey.

The Society took a recess at 12:15 P. M.

THE FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was called to order by President Lanman at 2:40 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon. The reading of papers was immediately begun.

Professor PAUL HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Ventriloquism in Babylonia; (b) The Nuptials of Jahveh and the Sun; (c) Sumerian Stillatores; (d) Suckling Sea-monsters.

(a) The instruction at the end of a cuneiform exorcistic manual (*ZA* 30, 213) to pipe like creatures of the desert (*cf.* Arab. 'azf) and female voices refers to ventriloquism, which has a higher pitch and a different timbre (*Assyr. lišānu enītu*). The Hebrew necromancers were ventriloquists (*Is.* 8, 19; 29, 4). The Sipirmeneans were said to pipe like women (*ZA* 30, 227 n. 3; *cf.* *Herod.* 4, 183) because they spoke a tonal language. The Sumerian tones may have been more marked in the older (*eme-sal*) dialect (*ZA* 31, 240) and in the language of the women (*JAOS* 37, 312). The Tibetans say that sounds uttered with a high tone are spoken *with a woman's voice* (*EB*¹¹ 26, 920^b; *cf.* also *PSBA* 40, 95).

(b) *MVAG* 22, 69 regards Ps. 19 as Davidic, and Ps. 132 (*JBL* 33, 168) as Solomonic. Ps. 19 is called a song for the Neomenia or the Feast of the Tabernacles, from the Solomonic Book of Songs (*JHUC* No. 316, p. 22) which is identified with the Psalter. Before *in them hath He set a tabernacle* (or bridal pavilion) *for the sun* the line *Jahveh knew* (*Gen.* 4, 1; *cf.* *JHUC*, No. 316, p. 24) *the sun in heaven, He thought to dwell in thick darkness* (see *Kings*, *SBOT* 101) is supposed to have been omitted. This reconstruction is untenable (*JBL* 38, 182).

(c) Sum. *kakkul*, Assyr. *namzitu*, Talmud. *nâzaitâ* is not a mash-tun for the brewing of beer (*ZA* 32, 168) but the receiver of a still for the distillation of brandy (*JHUC*, No. 287, p. 33). The boiler of the still is called in Assyrian: *qannu* or *qangannatu*—Talmud. *qangan*. Siduri (which may be the prototype of Calypso; cf. *kuttumat*, *HW* 363) had a still near the sea; she was not a Sabeen maiden: *sâbitu* is the feminine of *sâbû*, taverner (cf. Heb. *sôbê'ê iâin*, wine-bibbers)=Sum. *lu-geštin* or *lu-kaštin*. During the siege of Erech (*JAOS* 22, 8) the hostess in despair smashed the receiver of her still (*KB* 6, 273, 6).

(d) In the Maccabean Elegies (*JBL* 38, 157) Lam. 4, 3 we must read: *Gam-tannîm halçû šedêhén, heniqû gûrêhén*, Even sea-monsters offered (lit. *drew out*) their teats, and suckled their young. The Jews may have observed dugongs suckling their young in the Red Sea. There were also whales (both right whales and sperm-whales) in the Mediterranean (*JHUC*, No. 296, pp. 37, 43). Whales bring forth their young alive and suckle them; the two teats are placed in depressions on each side of the genital aperture. The dugong often raises its round head out of the water and carries its young under the forefin (see plate in Brockhaus, 14, 1002).

Rev. Dr. F. K. SANDERS, of New York: The Publications of the Board of Missionary Preparation relating to Religions. Remarks by Professors Haupt, Jackson, Torrey, and Montgomery.

The purpose of the speaker is to report certain results already reached, illustrating these by the actual publications and indicating the further policy of the Board in that direction, and then to speak of a proposed series. Each is of interest as representing a distinct attempt to utilize the very best scientific knowledge in order to assist young missionaries to enter thoughtfully and broadly into their work.

Professor A. T. OLSTEAD, of the University of Illinois: The Assyrian Land System. Remarks by Professors Haupt and Jastrow.

Professor A. V. W. JACKSON, of Columbia University: On the Site of the most ancient Zoroastrian Fire. Remarks by Professor Hopkins.

In Zoroastrian tradition the Farnbag Fire, or the special fire of the priestly class, is the most sacred of all fires, as it represents the divine fire of Ormazd. Tradition assigns its original foundation to the legendary ruler Yim, who established it in Khvarazm, to the east of the Caspian Sea. According to the Indian Bundahishn it was removed to Kabul by Zoroaster's patron, King Vishtasp; but according to the Iranian recension of that work (now available) it was carried to a place which may be identified with Kariyan in Fars. The paper discusses this latter tradition in the light of various other sources.

Professor C. C. TORREY, of Yale University: The So-called Original Hebrew of Sirach. Remarks by Professors Montgomery and Jastrow.

The Hebrew text of Sirach recently discovered is not the original Hebrew, but the result of a process of retroversion. The proofs of this are chiefly the following: (1) Our Greek text is by no means a ren-

dering of this Hebrew. (2) The style of the Cairo fragments is wretched. (3) Unlike the Greek, there is everywhere a weak repetition of Old Testament phrases. (4) The Hebrew of the fragments is largely the language of a much later day than that of Ben Sira. (5) The original metrical form is very often wanting. (6) Not seldom there is unmistakable evidence of translation. (7) There is good reason to believe that the real Hebrew of Sirach was lost at a very early date.

Professor E. W. HOPKINS, of Yale University: The Ethical Element in the Rig Veda. Remarks by Professors Lanman, Haupt, and Dr. Abbott.

Some ethical quality is inferable from pre-Vedic period. Vedic gods are peculiarly related to man. The idea of mediation has been exaggerated. The relation of sinner to gods and nature of the divine laws. These laws are according to the divine Order and Supreme Being; extracts in illustration. Nature of sin. Punishment of sinner; reward of pious.

By unanimous consent Prof. Lybyer's paper on The Syrian Desire for Independence was postponed for presentation in the evening, after the annual dinner.

After discussion it was voted: that the Executive Committee consider the preparation of questionnaires to be sent to missionary areas for the purpose of gathering information which might be useful to scholars.

On motion of Professor Jackson, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, that the American Oriental Society, in appreciation of its particularly pleasant visit at Ithaca, wishes to express its cordial thanks to the President and Trustees of Cornell University for welcoming the Society at Goldwin Smith Hall, where its sessions were held, and for hospitably entertaining the members at luncheon; also to thank the Telluride Association for the reception kindly given at its home and for various other attentions; to thank furthermore the Town and Gown Club and the University Club for courtesies extended; to express appreciation likewise to the Ithaca Chamber of Commerce for the enjoyable automobile excursion, and to thank Professor Quarles for the delightful organ recital which he gave for the members of the Society. It wishes, in conclusion, to add special acknowledgements to the Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements and his very efficient Reception Committee for the remarkable manner in which they contributed to make the meeting a memorable one for all those in attendance.

The President announced the formal presentation by title of the following papers.

Professor F. R. BLAKE, of Johns Hopkins University: A Bibliography of the Philippine Languages, Part II.

Professor M. BLOOMFIELD, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Notes on the *Divyāvadāna*. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] (b) On overhearing, as a motif in Hindu Fiction.

Dr. E. W. BURLINGAME, of Albany, N. Y.: Buddhist influence on Bidpai's Fables. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.]

Dr. E. CHIERA, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Sin Offering.

Professor R. P. DOUGHERTY, of Goucher College: The Temple Guard in Erech.

Professor F. EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: The *Pañca-tantra* Reconstructed: a report of progress.

Dr. I. EFROS, of Baltimore: An Emendation to *Jer. 4. 29.*

Dr. A. EMBER, of Johns Hopkins University: Several Semitic Etymologies.

Professor E. W. HOPKINS, of Yale University: *Rté Śrāntásya*, 'without toil,' *RV. 4. 33. 11.*

Mr. V. H. KALENDARIAN, of Columbia University: The Turanian Element in Armenian.

Professor M. JASTROW of the University of Pennsylvania: Notes on Criticism of Inscriptions: I, The Behistan Inscription of Darius the Great. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.]

Professor A. V. W. JACKSON, of Columbia University: Notes on the Persian Poet Bābā Tāhir.

Professor M. JASTROW, of the University of Pennsylvania: Notes on the Text of Ishtar's Descent to the Lower World.

Dr. H. S. LINFIELD, of Dopsie College: (a) An Approach to the Study of Jewish Contracts from the point of View of Babylonian Contracts. (b) The Forms *šelāši šelāšit šelāšin šelāšot*, *rebā'ī -it -in -ot*, etc., in Neo-Hebrew and their Equivalents in other Semitic Languages.

Professor D. G. LYON, of Harvard University: Assyrian City Gates.

Dr. D. I. MACHT, of Johns Hopkins University: A Pharmacological Appreciation of Biblical Incense.

Professor T. J. MEEK, of Meadville Theological School: (a) Some New Assyrian Ideograms. (b) An Assyrian Copy of the Hammurabi Code.

Dr. J. J. PRICE, of Plainfield, N. J.: The Rabbinic Conception of Labor.

Professor J. D. PRINCE, of Columbia University: The Sumerian Original of the name Nimrod. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.]

Rev. J. E. SNYDER, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Habbakuk's Maledictions. (b) The *ā* before the affixes of the Assyrian permanitive.

(a) The four imprecatory triplets in *Heb. 2, 6b* = 17 (18-20 is a subsequent addition) refer to events and conditions recorded in *1 Mac. 10, 30. 42; 11, 34. 35.—1, 21-23; 2, 9; 6, 12; 1, 33; 10, 32; 11, 41.—1, 46; 2, 12; 3, 51; 4, 38; 7, 35. 42; 14, 36; 9, 50-53.—1, 24. 30; 2, 38; 5, 2; 7, 17. 19.* We must read *lē'oklénū* for *lō-lō* and *'ullō la-ābūtāy*, also *nēšūkēka* and *mēz̄ozēkēka*, and *mispāh*, bloodshed (miswritten *mispāh* in *Is. 5, 7* and *mišpaṭ* in *Ezek. 7, 23*) for *mēsappēh*.

(b) The *ā* in *Assy. palxāku*, I fear, does not correspond to the *ō* in

Heb. *sabbôta*, which is conformed to the *verba tertiae y* (*JAS* 28. 113), but to the *ô* in Heb. *anôkî* I. The pronoun of the first person was (*an*)*âku*. This *â* was afterward transferred to the other persons. *Anâ* in Arabic and Aramaic (Ethiopic *ânâ*) is shortened from *anâku* and Heb. *ânî* and *anôkî* are conformed to the suffix of the first person (*SFG* 53).

Professor C. C. TORREY, of Yale University: The Site of Nineveh in the Book of Tobit.

The Society took a recess at 5:10 P. M.

THE FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session was called to order by President Lanman at 8:35 P. M., after the annual dinner, in Prudence Risley Hall, for the purpose of listening to Prof. Lybyer's paper, postponed from the afternoon session, and of transacting certain business. The following paper was presented:

Professor A. H. LYBYER, of the University of Illinois: The Syrian Desire for Independence. Remarks by Professors Haupt, Jastrow, Montgomery, Popper, and others.

Impressions of the Syrian character and desire for self-rule as observed with the American Commission on Mandates in Turkey last summer. The program of the Syrian Conference at Damascus. How the Syrian desires conflict with the secret treaties which are in process of being put into effect. How America might solve the problem of the world. If the triple partition be enforced upon the country, there is small prospect of permanent peace.

At the end of the discussion of Professor Lybyer's address, the Society held a brief business session.

Professor Lanman, as Chairman of the Committee on Co-operation with the Société Asiatique, presented the report of that Committee. On motion of Professor Haupt, properly seconded, it was voted, after some discussion, that the report be referred to the Executive Committee with power to act upon the proposal therein contained that this Society co-operate with the Société Asiatique and other Oriental Societies in regard to planning a General Dictionary of Buddhism and issuing an appeal for aid in its preparation.

On motion it was voted that the President of the Society be authorized to appoint delegates to represent the Society at the

joint meeting of Oriental Societies to be held at Paris in July, 1920.

Certain additional nominees for membership, included in the list already given, were duly elected.

Professor Olmstead extended an informal invitation for the Society to hold its annual meeting with that of the Middle West Branch in Easter Week of 1922.

At 11:10 o'clock the Society adjourned, to meet again in Baltimore on March 29, 1921.

PERSONALIA

Of the staff of the School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem Director Wm. H. WORRELL expected to leave for America in May and Prof. A. T. CLAY in June, the latter returning *via* Europe. Prof. J. P. PETERS plans to return in July. Prof. C. C. McCOWN, of the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Calif., has been appointed Thayer Fellow at the School for the coming year. Professor Clay made an extensive trip through Babylonia, reaching Mosul. He met there Prof. J. H. Breasted and his party. The present Fellow, Dr. W. F. ALBRIGHT, has been appointed Acting Director of the School for 1920-21.

Père J. N. STRASSMAIER, the pioneer in the study of Babylonian astronomy and in Babylonian contract literature, died in London, January 11, 1920. A biographical sketch is given by Père Condamin in *Recherches de Science Religieuse* for January-March.

Mr. T. RAMAKRISHNA PILLAI, of Madras, a member of our Society, died on Feb. 29, 1920. He had been for twenty-five years a fellow of the University of Madras, and was a valued member of the Tamil Lexicon Committee. That Committee has adopted a resolution on the death of Mr. Pillai, which we are glad to print, as follows:

The Tamil Lexicon Committee records with sorrow the death of Rao Saheb T. Ramakrishna Pillai, B.A., F.R.H.S., in whom it has lost one of its original members, who has all along rendered invaluable help by his enthusiasm for the work and by his readiness to further it in every way.

Dr. ISRAEL FRIEDLÄNDER, Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City, was killed by brigands in the Ukraine on July 8, while he was engaged in distributing money for Jewish relief. Dr. Friedländer became a member of the Society this year.

INDIA AND THE WEST WITH A PLEA FOR TEAM-WORK AMONG SCHOLARS¹

CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

IT IS A CURIOUS REMINISCENCE of a journey to India of thirty odd years ago, that no less than two pamphlets were given me discussing the religious right of a Brahman to cross the ocean. Remote indeed must be the corner of India in which that question is now debatable. Railways, electric motors and lights, telegraphs and telephones, a successful flight from Europe to Karāchi,—such things must make it clear to any Hindu, whether learned or illiterate, that the old order is past and gone, and with it the possibility of maintaining the old-time caste-restrictions, and the isolation that they fostered.

Fostered, not effected. For India has never been wholly isolated. Thither, for conquest and gain, Alexander led an army, and upon the observations of his generals and followers rest the Greek and Latin accounts (such as those of Megasthenes), which it is a fascinating study to test upon the touchstone of native Hindu records (such as those of Kāuṭilya).—Thither, again, came the Chinese pilgrims to the Holy Land of Buddhism,—their purpose, to get the authentic records of Buddha's teaching and carry them home to China. Of all foreign visitors to India, none challenge our sympathy and admiration more splendidly than do these stout-hearted men who braved the awful perils of the Sand-desert, the Sha-mo, upon so exalted

¹ Presidential address delivered before the American Oriental Society at Ithaca, April 6, 1920.—In it are embodied a few statements already made by the author in print elsewhere,—in official documents 'not published,' or in books of very restricted circulation.

For the sake of readers who live outside of the world of American sports, be it said that 'team-work' means 'work done by the players of a team collectively, for example, by the players of a foot-ball eleven.' These must do each his best for the success of his team as a whole. To this end, they must be free from the slightest feeling of personal jealousy, and must not allow the hope of personal advantage to influence any thought or act. The application of the term 'team-work' to the scholarly co-operation as between India and the West which we here have in mind, is obvious.

an errand.—And thither, again, came ‘visitors’ of a very different stripe, invaders, beginning in 1001, who in long succession, from Mahmud of Ghazni to the Moguls, set up foreign rule in India. Of the Moguls, the greatest and best was Akbar, and the time of his life (1542-1605) accords very nearly with that of Queen Elizabeth, as does also the time of his reign of nine-and-forty years. It was on the very last day of the sixteenth century that Elizabeth gave a charter to ‘The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies.’

This marks the beginning of a new era, the era of British India. The isolation of India, so far as it concerns India and the *West*, has been, upon the whole, pretty complete from the days of Alexander to those of the Company. To Horace, India was the land whose forests were ‘lapped by the *storied* Hydaspes.’ And more than a hundred years before Elizabeth’s Charter, Columbus set out, in 1492, to seek India by sailing to the west. And five years later, Vasco da Gama started from Lisbon to reach the same fabled goal by sailing in general to the east. It was in May, 1498, after a voyage of nearly eleven months, that the intrepid Portuguese captain cast anchor off the coast of Malabar, near Calicut. On returning, he bore a letter from the Prince of Calicut to the King of Portugal: ‘In my kingdom there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper, and precious stones. What I seek from thy country is gold, silver, coral, and scarlet.’ Portuguese, Dutch, French, Danes, even Prussians, strove in vain for a permanent foot-hold in India. It was reserved for the unconquerable persistence and self-restraint of the English, and for their loyalty to far-sighted principles through two hundred and fifty years, to establish the greatest colonial empire of human history.²

Modern scientific knowledge of India in the Occident is often said to begin with Sir William Jones and Henry Thomas Colebrooke. These are the most illustrious names on the earliest bead-roll of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, founded by Sir William in 1784. But even a hundred years and more before that, two remarkable observers had written books to which I should like to call attention. One is ‘The Open Door to hidden heathendom, or truthful description of the life and customs, religion

² See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford, 1908, ii. 446-469.

and worship of the Bramins on the coast of Coromandel and lands thereabouts. By Dominus Abraham Rogerius, in his life, Minister of the Holy Gospel on the same coast,' published in Dutch at Leiden in 1651. A German translation was published a dozen years later, at Nürnberg, in 1663. The Dutch original is of extreme rarity, and has accordingly just been republished by our colleague, Professor W. Caland of Utrecht, at The Hague, in 1915.—The other work is the 'Truthful detailed description of the famous East Indian coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and the island of Ceylon. By Philip Baldæus, sometime Minister of the Divine Word in Ceylon,' published in German at Amsterdam in 1672. I have long been the fortunate possessor of a copy of the Nürnberg Rogerius, and of a copy of Baldæus (both destined for the Harvard Library), and Rogerius has just been laid on the table before you.

The 'visitors' in India, to whom brief allusion has been made, are typical. On the one hand are the conquerors and traders, to whom cinnamon and ginger, coral and scarlet, mean much. On the other are the pilgrims and missionaries, seekers for the things of the spirit. But notice how these latter represent two exactly opposite types. The Chinese pilgrims go to learn. The men from the West go to teach. And the purpose of each type is clearly reflected in the mental attitude of each towards what there is to see. The work of Baldæus has for a sub-title 'Heathen Idolatry,' *Abgötterey der Heyden*, and its pages have many descriptions and pictures of abominations. For contrast, let me read a bit from Fâ-hien, the concluding paragraph of his own record of his pilgrimage to India (399-414 A. D.).

After Fâ-hien set out from Ch'ang-gan,⁸ it took him six years to reach Central India; stoppages there extended over (other) six years; and on his return it took him three years to reach Ts'ing-chow. The countries through which he passed were a few under thirty. From the sandy desert westwards on to India, the beauty of the dignified demeanour of the monkhood and of the transforming influence of the Law was beyond the power of language fully to describe.

At the end of the work is added one more passage by an unnamed writer, Fâ-hien's host, who says:

⁸ In Shen-si, near the great bend of the Yellow River. Fâ-hien speaks of himself in the third person. The Law or Great Doctrine means Buddha's religion.

It was in the year Keah-yin (414 A. D.) that I met the devotee Fâ-hien. On his arrival, I lodged him with myself in the winter study, and there, in our meetings for conversation, I asked him again and again about his travels. The man was modest and complaisant, and answered readily, according to the truth. I thereupon advised him to enter into details, and he proceeded to relate all things in order from the beginning to the end. He [Fâ-hien] said himself,

'When I look back on what I have gone through, my heart is involuntarily moved and the sweat breaks forth. That I encountered danger and trod the most perilous places, without thinking of or sparing myself, was because I had a definite aim, and thought of nothing but to do my best in simplicity and straightforwardness. Thus it was that I exposed my life where death seemed inevitable, if I might accomplish only a ten-thousandth part of what I hoped.'

These words [of my guest, Fâ-hien] affected me [his host] in turn, and I thought:—'This man is one of those who have seldom been seen from ancient times to the present. Since the Great Doctrine flowed on to the East, there has been no one to be compared with Hien in his forgetfulness of self and search for the Law. Henceforth I know that the influence of sincerity finds no obstacle, however great, which it does not overcome, and that force of will does not fail to accomplish whatever service it undertakes. Does not the accomplishing of such service arise from forgetting (and disregarding) what is (generally) considered as important, and attaching importance to what is (generally) forgotten?'

Simple, straightforward, self-forgetting seeker for the truth, hoping all things, and yet daring death to do even a little part of what he hoped, and, above all, judging values not as the world judgeth! such was Fâ-hien, The Illustrious Master (Hien) of the Law (Fâ). For us, as scholars and as students of the East, where may be found a braver, a nobler, a wiser exemplar?

Fâ-hien's 'definite aim' was to seek and carry home the authentic records of Buddha's Teachings. But since these would be useless without a knowledge of the language of the originals, it follows that he must have recognized the fact that the first essential for knowing Buddha's religion was to know the language of its ancient sacred books. A similar fact with reference to Hindu jurisprudence was recognized fourteen hundred years later by Henry Thomas Colebrooke. Warren Hastings saw that if the Company's wise intentions of governing the Hindus by their own laws were to be carried out, those ancient laws must be made accessible to their European judges. As no one was found to translate them directly from the original Sanskrit into Eng-

lish, they were in fact translated from Sanskrit into Persian and from Persian into English: The result was Halhed's *Code of Gentoo Laws* (1776). Colebrooke arrived at Calcutta in 1783, as a lad of eighteen. But he acquitted himself with such distinction in the revenue service, that at thirty he was transferred to the judicial service, to a post in the Court of Adawlat of Mirzapore, near Benares.⁴

In 1787, Sir William Jones wrote home to Charles Wilkins: 'You are the first European that ever understood Sanscrit, and will, possibly, be the last.'⁵ It was probably very soon after this date, perhaps in 1790, that Colebrooke took up Sanskrit. He had been seven years in Bengal, and his eagerness to acquire a knowledge of ancient Hindu algebra was what first moved him to study Sanskrit. The difficulties were so great that he twice abandoned the study. But the duties of his office, and the inadequacy of Halhed's work, forced him to renew the fight. For, with the lack of help, and the constant pressure of official duty, it must indeed have been a fight. The result was his monumental *Digest of Hindu Law*, dated 1798.

In a letter of January, 1797, to his father, Colebrooke announces the completion of his task of translating the *Digest of Hindu Law*, and his plan of working out a Sanskrit grammar, and the fact that 'types have lately been cast, in Calcutta, for printing the Sanscrit language in its appropriate character,' that is, in *Nāgarī* letters. The first Sanskrit book to be so printed was the *Hitopadeśa*, with parts of *Dandin* and *Bhartṛhari*, and a copy of it lies on the table before you. Its editor was Carey, and it was printed at his press in Serampore in 1804, and with a preface by Colebrooke, saying that it was 'To promote and facilitate the study of the ancient and learned language of India in the College of Fort William.' It was followed in 1805 by Colebrooke's Sanskrit Grammar. Of this also a copy lies before you. In a letter of 1801, Colebrooke says: 'My chief literary occupation now is a Sanscrit Grammar, which is in the press. I undertook it because I accepted the Professorship of Sanscrit in the College, but do not choose to deliver oral instruction to the students; and I am expediting the publication, that this may be

⁴ See *The Life of H. T. Colebrooke*, by his son, Sir T. E. Colebrooke, London, 1873, for these and the following statements.

⁵ See *JAOS* 9, p. lxxxviii.

one of the valuable legacies of the College, if it do die the death to which the Court of Directors have condemned it.' And such a legacy indeed it is. It is based upon Pānini, the greatest of all Hindu grammarians. But since the Hindu system of grammar is infinitely more difficult than the Sanskrit language itself, the work was unusable except as a sure stepping-stone for Colebrooke's successors.

We cannot realize how difficult were the beginnings of a scientific study of India for these brave pioneers. Wilkins, the Caxton of India, arrived in Bengal in 1770, and Halhed at about the same time. Sir William Jones and Colebrooke arrived in 1783, and Carey in 1793. Carey, the learned shoemaker, established his mission at Serampore in 1800. He became a translator of the Bible, and justly earned the title of 'The Wyclif of the East.' Wilkins was the first to make a direct translation of a Sanskrit work into English. This was the *Gītā* (London, 1785). Of it and of Wilkins, Colebrooke says:

I have never yet seen any book which can be depended on for information concerning the real opinions of the Hindus except Wilkins' 'Bhagvat Geeta.' That gentleman was Sanscrit-mad and has more materials and more general knowledge respecting the Hindus than any other foreigner ever acquired since the days of Pythagoras.

Wilkins was very skilful with his hands and his pen. He had with his own hands designed and cut the punches and cast the types from which Halhed's Bengali grammar was printed at Hoogly in 1778. And he taught his art to a Bengali blacksmith, Panchanan. The latter came to the Serampore Mission Press most opportunely. Carey was in sore need of Nāgari types for his Sanskrit grammar and texts. Panchanan met the need. The excellence of his work you may see for yourselves from the beautiful volume before you, the *Hitopadeśa*. His apprentice, Mohonur, continued to make elegant fonts of type for many Eastern languages for more than forty years. Rev. James Kennedy saw him cutting the matrices and casting the type for the Bibles while he squatted before his favorite idol, under the auspices of which alone he would work. Serampore continued down till 1860 to be the principal Oriental type-foundry of the East.⁶

⁶ *The Life of William Carey*, by George Smith, 2d ed., London, 1887. See especially pp. 217-8.

Let me cite, from an essay⁷ of a dozen years ago, some facts for which in part I was indebted to our confrere, Dr. Justin E. Abbott, formerly of Bombay.

On the 'Bombay side' the case was similar. The first important press of Western India was started by the American Mission in 1816. A young Eurasian of that press, Thomas Graham, cut the first Marathi and Gujarati type. At this press were later employed also two young Hindu lads, one of whom, Jāvajī Dādājī, learned the art of printing from the Americans, and founded the *Nirṇaya Sāgara* Press, now carried on by his son Tukārām Jāvajī. The other, taught by Graham, is still living, and cuts all the beautiful *Nirṇaya Sāgara* type.

Printing in India is therefore modern, and essentially un-Indian in its origin; but no sane man would refuse a Sanskrit text because it was printed, and insist on having one made by a Hindu scribe. The consideration of cost alone would utterly condemn such a preference. Meantime, Bombay and Poona and Calcutta are producing admirably printed Sanskrit texts; printed texts are beginning to come from such out-of-the-way places as Nagpore; and from Kumbhakonam, the 'Oxford of Southern India,' they come in great numbers. Whether we like it or not, printing will ere long have ousted memorizing and copying as a means of handing down texts. In short, the ancient Hindus are no longer ancient; like the rest of the world they too are moving on.

The Sanskrit philology of the Occident is but little more than a century old. But its achievements are already great. The last work from the hand of our colleague, Ernst Windisch of Leipzig, is entitled *History of Sanskrit philology*, Part I, and goes down through the time of Christian Lassen. Whether Part II would have contained an outline of Sanskrit philology in India (manuscript-collections, text-editions, epigraphy, numismatics—the work of what Windisch calls his 'Fourth period'), I am not sure. But in this connection it is noteworthy that Sanskrit philology is in fact commonly taken to mean the work of Occidental scholars.

What I especially desire to bring to your attention today is the great fact that it is only through the most whole-hearted co-

⁷ Prefixed to J. Hertel's *Panchatantra*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 11, p. xxii.

operation of Indianists of the Occident with those of the Orient that we may hope for progress which shall be fruitful in good to West and to India alike. And there is a very peculiar propriety in emphasizing this fact just at this time:

Almost three years ago, when we Americans were engaged in the stupendous work of fighting mighty nations separated from us by thousands of miles of land and sea, there appeared in India, at Poona, a splendid volume of Commemorative Essays presented to Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, July 6, 1917. It consists of forty essays, mostly in English, partly in Sanskrit and French, contributed by scholars of India and the West in token of their admiration for Dr. Bhandarkar as a scholar who has for decades combined Indic and Western learning, and so has been an example and an inspiration to us all. Thus in these dark days,—when internationalism seems almost dead, when for the older generation the hope of reorganizing international effort for great undertakings seems faint,—comes this virile messenger from India, the Continent of the Bhāratans, to quicken our courage and our hope. I trust that it may be an added measure in the cup of gladness of Dr. Bhandarkar, who has been for thirty-three years one of our Honorary Members, to learn that here in distant America it is deemed worth while to pause and do honor to a life that has been devoted to the noble ideal of helping the West to understand his native India.

And, before turning to the main subject which this volume suggests, let me add that to us, as Americans, it is a matter of satisfaction and pride that Dr. Belvalkar, who was a leading spirit in planning the volume and in organizing the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona, is a member of our Society, and that, although in the wide fields of Indian antiquities there is many a subject about which he knows as a matter of course vastly more than any American professor of Sanskrit can hope to know, he was nevertheless wise enough to devote two years to study in an American university. This last I mention with hope and with gladness. I am glad that a Hindu, well versed in the learning of his native land, should think it worth while to learn of the West. And I hope that his residence in America may make his Eastern learning far more fruitful for his countrymen and for us Occidentals than it ever could be, if he had not come

hither to study our methods and to find out what lessons from his country's past may best be taught to us.

The main thought which the stately Bhandarkar volume suggests is the happy one that Indianists of India are now joining hands with Indianists of the West in the great work of helping each to understand the other. The supreme folly of war is in the last analysis a failure—as between two peoples—to understand each other, and so to trust each other. It follows then that the business of us Orientalists is something that is in vital relation with urgent practical and political needs. The work calls for co-operation, and above all things else for co-operation in a spirit of mutual sympathy and teachableness. There is much that America may learn from the history of the peoples of India, and much again that the Hindus may learn from the West. But the lessons will be of no avail, unless the spirit of arrogant self-sufficiency give way to the spirit of docility, and the spirit of unfriendly criticism to that of mutually helpful constructive effort. Both India and the West must be at once both teacher and taught.

The whole spiritual and material background of the life of India differs so completely from that of the West that neither can ever understand the other from a mere study of the other's literary monuments. Such study is indeed inexorably necessary, and it must be fortified by broad and rigorous training in the many-sided methods of today. But that is not enough. An Occidental who would faithfully interpret India to the West must also know the life of India from actual observation and experience, and must be able to look at it from the Eastern angle of vision. Accordingly, for example, the Sanskrit professor of the next generation must have resided in India, have mixed (so far as possible) with its people, and have mastered one or more of the great modern vernaculars, such as Marathi or Bengali. And, on the other hand, since the Hindus themselves are already actively engaged in interpreting the East to the West, it is needful also that they visit us, not merely to learn our way of doing things, but also to look at life as we look at it, and thus to find out what things—such, let us say, as repose of spirit or the simple life—the West most needs to learn of the East.⁸

⁸ C. R. L., in a Note prefixed to S. K. Belvalkar's *Rāma's Later History*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 21, page xiii.

Colebrooke, in a letter of 1788 to his father, says: 'Never mixing with natives, an European is ignorant of their real character, which he, therefore, despises. When they meet, it is with fear on one side, and arrogance on the other.' And I must confess that I have myself in India seen that the basis of Colebrooke's charges had not become wholly a thing of the past. Sir William Jones and Colebrooke are ideal instances of the spirit and methods that were and are and must ever remain exemplary. They went to India, they learned of the Hindus, and to the task of making India known to the West they gave, with heroic devotion, all that they had to give. And ever since their day, the business of the East India Company or of the Imperial Government has taken men to India who have proved to be not only men of lofty personal character and faithful officials, but also Indianists of large achievement.

To France belongs the honor of establishing the first professorship for Sanskrit upon the Continent of Europe. This was at the Collège Royal de France, and a copy of the inaugural address of the first incumbent, de Chézy, delivered Monday, January 16, 1815, lies before you. In the second third of the last century, there arose men who, like de Chézy's successor, Eugène Burnouf, or like the lexicographers, Böhtlingk and Roth, accomplished great things without ever visiting the Land of the Rose-apple. As late as Carey's day, it took about half a year to go from England to India. Just before the World War, letters often came from Bombay to Boston in three or four weeks. And now appears Sir Frederick Sykes before the Royal Geographical Society, announcing the projects of Great Britain for the development of commercial aviation. Egypt must for a long time be the 'Hub' or the 'Clapham Junction' of the aerial routes to India, Australia, and Cape Town. Between Egypt and India weather-conditions are found to be stable on the whole; and whereas the normal time for the sea-voyage from Port Said to Bombay is nine days, that traject is made through the air in four days, flying only in the day-time. When I was a graduate student at Yale, it was not even suggested that I should go to India; and an occasional letter of scientific interest from India was deemed worthy of publication in Weber's *Indische Studien* or in our JOURNAL.

But soon, when a letter can be transmitted from Boston to Bombay in ten days, and the writer can be carried by ship and train in a fortnight, it is evident that the increased opportunities will bring—as always—increased obligations, and that for professed Indianists in America a period of residence and study in India—preferably, perhaps, at such a place as Poona or Benares—will become rather a matter of course. Meantime, it may be added, the development of the discipline of tropical hygiene will tend to reduce to a minimum the dangers to health from living in an unwonted climate.

The time is ripe for instituting a system of international exchange-scholarships as between the universities of India and America. This will encourage and promote the tendency to inter-university migration, which is already well under way. Scores of students from India and the Far East are now listed in the Harvard Catalogue. Within the last two years I have had upon my rolls a recent Harvard graduate who has returned from Burma to complete his preparation for a professorship in Judson College, another American back from a long residence in China, two young Chinese students, one of extraordinary promise, and Hindus to whom it was an especial delight for me to explain their sacred Upanishads. It would be an entirely legitimate use of the Harvard Sheldon Fellowships (which are intended for non-resident students) to award them to men who propose to study in India, and I am glad to make this fact known.

Political and economic conditions are just now such as to make it a peculiarly unpromising time to move for the establishment of chairs for Oriental philology in the United States. But things have their ups and downs—*utpadyante cyavante ca*, say the Hindus—and it is for us in these dark days to do the best we can in the way of leaving works which (all in good time, it may be after we are gone) shall bear fruit by substantially promoting an understanding between India and the West.

I must not quit this theme without mentioning that the Indian Government has already recognized the value of these exchanges by sending young men on government stipends to pursue their studies in Europe and America. They are of course especially numerous in the fields of the technical sciences. But men of notable excellence in the things of the spirit are also not lacking.

Young Todar Mall was a pupil of Macdonell of Oxford, and had accomplished valuable work upon *Bhavabhūti*, when death disappointed his hopes and ours. An elaborate study of *Kālidāsa* as he appears in the Hindu writers upon rhetoric or *Alankāra* has recently been published in French and Sanskrit by Hari Chand, a pupil of Sylvain Lévi of Paris, now of Strassburg. It is a significant book, which no one could produce who had not had thorough training in these difficult writings. Such training is hardly to be had outside of India. No one in America even offers to expound them, and the offer would be vain even if made. On the other hand, professors of Oxford and Cambridge have recently presented to the Secretary of State for India a memorandum advocating the establishment of a few fellowships to enable young British scholars to study in India the classical languages and antiquities of India, and such related subjects as could be pursued to better advantage there than in Europe. Although the memorial has not yet gained its immediate object, it has gained public recognition of an important fact.

Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar was the first great Indianist of India to combine the native learning in which they must ever excel us, with the knowledge of the Occidental methods which give us in some ways important advantages over them. It is futile to make invidious comparisons of Hindu and Occidental scholars and scholarly results. Far better it is to take them all, gratefully or modestly as the case may be, for what they are worth, and make the most of them for further progress. The recent pamphlet of the Bhandarkar Institute concerning the new edition of the *Mahā-bhārata*, inviting suggestions from Western scholars, shows how generously ready Hindu scholars now are to adopt Western methods and ideas, so far as serviceable and applicable. Shankar Pandurang Pandit, the editor of the great Bombay quarto edition of the *Atharva-veda*, had the utmost respect for our illustrious Whitney—a feeling that he made plain by deeds. And I have often wondered whether there is any old-time shrotriya still left in India, whose learning and memory would enable him even distantly to compete with the achievements possible for a Western scholar armed with Bloomfield's wonderful *Vedic Concordance*. And I say this without fear of offence to my Hindu friends and colleagues. We must, as Yusuf

Ali in his Copenhagen lectures of 1918 rightly says,⁹ recognize the actuality and importance of the modern spirit in Indian life.

Let me cite a case or two which have been a part of my own experience, as showing the openness of mind of our colleagues in the Orient. The oblong Bombay edition of 1889 of the *Mahā-bhārata* exhibits some very substantial and valuable and practical improvements over that of 1878. I am under the impression that they are due to suggestions from Occidental sources. Once more, on June 24, 1910, Mr. Simon Hewavitarne of Colombo wrote me of his plan of publishing a complete text of the Buddhist sacred books in Cingalese characters. I have the carbon copy of a memorial which I addressed to him on July 25, 1910, in which I discussed the choice of the texts to be published first; the use of Cingalese authorities for a Cingalese edition; the importance of the native commentaries for the projected *Pāli* lexicon; the urgent need of having not only a Cingalese title-page, but also (for Occidental librarians) an English one as well; the extreme inconvenience and wastefulness of issuing large texts in many small parts (as is so often done in the East); the importance of the native divisions of the texts, and (at the same time) of possibly other, but truly convenient, means of citation; the need of practical and intelligently made indexes; the great importance of clear typography and other externals. Not long after, Mr. Hewavitarne passed away; but the administrators of the 'Simon Hewavitarne Bequest' are now issuing most beautiful and practical and scholarly volumes, one after another, which are certain to be of immense help for the progress of Buddhist studies.^{9a}

Before passing on, I must call to your notice a letter from Mr. N. B. Utgikar, Secretary of the *Mahā-bhārata* Publication, and Professor P. D. Gune, Secretary of the Bhandarkar Institute in Poona, sent with the prospectus of the new edition of the *Mahā-*

⁹ See *JRAS* for 1919, p. 277.

^{9a} A brief extract from the preface to my memorial may here be given: "The first thing that I would urge upon you is the tremendous usefulness and importance of co-operation—untrammelled by any petty personal jealousies. If you can secure for your undertaking, genuine and true-hearted scholars who are imbued with the true spirit and precepts of The Exalted One, half the battle will be won."

bhārata already mentioned, and asking for suggestions regarding the work undertaken and the methods of preparing the edition as outlined in the prospectus, and for advice on other relevant matters which the prospectus may not have noticed. The most eminent authority among us, Professor Hopkins, has already responded—as I am glad to learn. In a multitude of counsellors there is wisdom. Any colleague who has often vainly wished that the old editions might have been made more conveniently usable, will find pleasure and honorable satisfaction and, I believe, also profit in accepting this most kind invitation.

One brief corollary to this I should like to draw in passing. And that is, that there is now very much that is distinctively Indian, which will very soon have passed away. Western scholars must go to India, and go speedily, if they are to make the observations and records which must be made soon or never. A remarkable illustration of this point is that remarkable book of Sir George Grierson's, *Bihar Peasant Life*. A large part of the edition was destroyed, so that the book is of extremest rarity and worth its weight in silver and more. While he was in active service, he conceived the idea of photographing the natives as engaged in their various industries and using their primitive implements, often so like those of centuries ago that the precious volume is frequently an illustrated commentary upon books one or two thousand years old. The introduction of modern agricultural and other machinery into India will soon make an undertaking like that of Grierson too late, if indeed it be not so already.

Or, to take another case, when I was in Benares, beautiful lithographed texts of the Upanishads with the commentaries of Illustrious Śankara were offered to me, which fortunately I purchased. (A specimen, the Kena, lies on the table.) I do not think that such works can be picked up now. Recent Hindu pupils have told me that they have never even seen such books. And for accuracy and general excellence they are of large practical value. They are doubtless the work of old-time Benares pandits quite innocent of Occidental learning, who were at once competent Sanskritists and skilful lithographers.

As further evidence of the modern spirit in India, must not be left unnoticed the activity recently shown in the organization of societies for co-operation in scholarly research. The Panjab Historical Society was founded in 1910 by scholars of the Panjab

University,—doubtless not without the stimulus and help of Dr. Vogel, a distinguished pupil, and now the successor at Leyden, of the greatest Dutch Indianist, Hendrik Kern, himself once a professor at Benares. Thus Kern, being dead, yet speaketh. Another organization of promise is the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, which already has to its credit the edition of the great inscription of Khāravela, king of Kalinga. Strong and promising is the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, founded in 1915, and with the resources of the Government of the Nizam behind it.¹⁰

These things show that the Indianists of India already realize the importance of turning to account the modern methods of organization and business efficiency, and the modern progress of the graphic arts. The value of organization, and of combining the labors of isolated scholars for well-considered ends, is splendidly illustrated by the Series called *Kāvya-mälā* of Bombay, and by the *Ānandāśrama* Series of Poona. As regards wide circulation and usefulness, complete works issued in such large groups or series as those, and in such form as only a strong and adequate printing establishment can give them, have an enormous advantage over works issued singly or in incomplete parts, and at some obscure and feeble press, and in a small edition. The work of eminent printers, such as the late Jāvajī Dādājī of Bombay, seems to me to be a very substantial service to science, and as such to deserve generous recognition from scholars.

That India, with her great learning, is eager to adopt modern methods to make that learning available to her own sons and to us, and is ready to join hands with us of the West in order to make her spiritual heritage enrich our too hurried life,—this much is clear. It remains (of the few things that one may consider in so brief a time) to emphasize some of the tasks which seem to be most immediate and most pressing.

And first may be said what I said years ago in one of the earliest volumes (vol. 4) of the Harvard Oriental Series: Make available to the West good Sanskrit texts and good English translations thereof. The labors of the last seventy years have given to the world of scholars editions of most of the really great works of the Indian antiquity—the Jaina texts excepted. Roth

¹⁰ See *JRAS* 1919, p. 631.

and Whitney, Weber, Aufrecht, Max Müller, von Schroeder, have given us the *Vedas*. The Hindus themselves, the *Epos*. Rhys Davids and his collaborators of the Pāli Text Society, the texts of Buddhism. The World-war is perhaps the end of this pioneering period. It is not the least disparagement to these brave pioneers to say that these first editions ought now to be regarded as provisional, and that the coming generation of Indianists must set to work to make new editions, uniform in general plan and in typography, and provided with manifold conveniences for quick and effective study, such as it would have been most ungracious even to expect in an *editio princeps*. To illustrate: Aufrecht has printed the text of the *Rigveda* as solid prose, like a German hymn-book. It is incontestable that hosts of critical facts which it needed the expert eye and mind of a Bergaigne to discover from Aufrecht's or Müller's texts, would have been obvious almost to beginners from a *Rigveda* text printed so as to show its true metrical character.^{10a}

There still remain very important texts of which good editions and versions in Occidental style are a pressing need. Only two such will I mention, but they are texts of absolutely transcendent importance. One is Bharata's *Nātya-śāstra*, the oldest fundamental work upon dramaturgy and thetic arts. This we may hope to receive from the hand of Professor Belvalkar. The other is the *Artha-śāstra* of Kāutilya, Chandragupta's prime minister, the greatest Indian writer upon the science of government. Considering the age, authorship, scope, and intrinsic interest of the treatise, the future student of this science may not ignore it. It abounds also in discussions of most modern topics, such as profiteering, control of liquor-traffic and prostitution,

^{10a} Rudolph Roth's last letter to Whitney is dated Tübingen, 23 April, 1894. Roth says: "An Lanman, der mir den Harvard *Phormio* als Gruss geschickt hat, habe ich heute eine Karte abgelassen und ihn gemahnt für künftig auch eine Ausgabe des *Rigveda* im Auge zu behalten. . . . Eine Ausgabe des *Rigveda nach der Gestalt der Verse*, wie unser *Atharvaveda*, ist absolut notwendig. Ich wundere mich, dass andere nicht darauf gedrungen haben. Die Art Müllers und Aufrechts ist hungerleiderisch. Ich selbst bediene mich deshalb nie der Ausgaben, sondern nur meiner Abschrift, die richtig angelegt ist."

The postal card I still have. In it Roth mentions his article, *Rechtschreibung im Veda* (*ZDMG*, vol. 48, p. 101), as relevant to the problems of a new edition.

public stables and laundries, use of poison-gases, and so on. Of this, the learned Librarian of Mysore, R. Shamasastri, working in a most admirable spirit of co-operation with Fleet and Thomas, Jolly and Barnett, and other Western Indianists, has already given us an excellent provisional text and version.

Other tasks I will not try to specify for the coming Indianists. But to them, by way of needed warning, one word! It is a deplorable misdirection of power to spend toil and money over the corrupt manuscript readings of third-rate ritual texts or over books of pornography,—so long as the Buddhist and Jaina scriptures are largely untranslated, so long as new texts and versions, or even well-revised and annotated ones, of the Vedic literature, of the treatises on medicine and law and philosophy, of the dramas and stories and epics, are still desiderata,—in short, so long as work of really first-rate importance still remains to be done.

At present, for whatever causes, the future of humanistic studies does not look bright. Schools for advancing material progress flourish as never before. In devotion to the things of the spirit there is a falling off. For our future as a nation this is a very real danger. To meet it, we must awaken the interest of many young students. To this end, better elementary text-books are an indispensable means. And for this reason, I believe that the work of providing such books is at the present time more important than even the work of enlarging the boundaries of our science. I am convinced that one single year of Sanskrit study may, with proper books, be made so fruitful, that any one who intends to pursue linguistic studies—be he Latinist or Hellenist or Anglist—may well hesitate to forego the incomparable disciplinary training which it offers.

Of 'proper books,' the first is an elementary Sanskrit grammar. Such a book I have long had in hand. But for the war, it might already have been issued. The inflection and sound-changes of the Sanskrit are very far less difficult than is commonly supposed. The right method of teaching Sanskrit is to separate the difficulties of the language from those of the writing. The reason why so many a beginner balks at the outset, is that these difficulties are not separated, and that he has to grapple with them all at once. Accordingly I am casting the elementary grammar into a form which employs only Roman transliteration. The use of Roman

type makes clear to the eye, instantly and without a word of comment, countless facts concerning the structure of the language which it is utterly impossible to make clear in Nāgarī letters, even with a good deal of added comment.¹¹ Moreover, by combining ingenious typography with Roman letters, it is possible, literally, to accomplish wonders for the visualizing memory. I have already succeeded in tabulating the paradigms of declension and conjugation (always in parallel vertical columns) in such a way that even beginners admit that a real and speedy mastery of the common forms is an easy matter.

This elementary grammar is to be very brief. I think that some fifty pages will suffice to give all the grammatical facts needed for the first year of reading of judiciously selected texts. Stenzler's famous grammar shows how easily it may happen that brevity is attained at the expense of clearness and adequacy. On one of his title-pages Joseph Wright cites the couplet, 'Nur das Beispiel führt zum Licht; Vieles Reden thut es nicht.' This I too have taken to heart. The examples have been gathered and culled with extremest care, and are often combinations of such frequent occurrence as to be worth learning as a help in reading.

The addition of explanatory or illustrative material to the sections of a grammar in such a way as to interrupt the sequence of the descriptive exposition is a fatal procedure. This is proved beyond a shadow of doubt by the Sanskrit grammar of Albert Thumb. And yet the illustrative material, drawn from languages usually familiar among us (English, Greek, Latin), is

¹¹ This is due to the fact that the Nāgarī writing is partly syllabic, that a consonantal character carries with it an inherent unwritten vowel *a*, unless that vowel is expressly negated by a subscript stroke or by some other and written vowel. Thus the one single character for *ma* means two sounds, *m* and *a*, of which the *m* may be the end of one word, and the *a* the initial of the next. I can cite nothing analogous from English but a line from the *Whimsey Anthology* of Carolyn Wells (New York, 1906), p. 52: 'I'm sorry you've been 6 o (=sick so) long; Don't be disconsol8.' Here the one character 6 (=six=sick s) designates sounds belonging in part to the word *sick* and in part to the word *so*.

At first blush, the critic may say that the use of Roman letters is by itself enough to condemn this book, so far as Hindu learners are concerned. But a most intelligent Maratha pupil is of contrary opinion. I am not without hope that my paradigm-tables in Roman letters may prove so successful as to convince even Hindu teachers of their usableness with beginners.

exceedingly helpful, and may even be made highly entertaining. For this reason I propose to give a running Comment on my Grammar, entirely separated from the Grammar, but bound up with it as an appendix between the same pair of covers, and with the section-numbers of the Comment corresponding throughout with those of the Grammar, so that reference from the one to the other is 'automatic.'

To make it easy to learn to read Sanskrit in Nāgarī characters, I am making a small, but quite separate volume. This is not to be taken up until the beginner has acquired a considerable vocabulary of common Sanskrit words, and such familiarity with the not too numerous endings and prepositional prefixes, and with the rules of vowel-combination, as shall enable him quickly to separate the confusingly run-together words. For this book, I believe that some of the salient facts of Indian palaeography can be used to great practical advantage. One should, for example, never begin with the initial forms of the vowels, but rather with the medial forms in conjunction with a preceding consonant. I do not think that the historical identity of form between medial and initial *u* was ever suggested to me by either a book or a teacher in my early years, nor yet the relation of long *ū* to short *u*. And even to this day, the form of *r* in groups beginning or ending with *r* is treated as an anomaly; whereas, in fact, it is the *r* that stands by itself which is anomalous (in appearance, at least: for the apparent anomaly is very easily explained). By printing this book about the Nāgarī alphabet at Bombay, at the Nirnaya Sāgara Press, and with the rich and admirable type-fonts of that Press at command, it will be very easy to make scores of matters clear which are now stones of stumbling for the beginner.

The way thus cleared for teaching quickly and effectively the essentials of Sanskrit grammar, and incidentally also the main structural features of our native English (of which even advanced students are now lamentably ignorant),—it will then be in order to induct the beginner into the literature. At present, he reads, between October first and Christmas, usually about five chapters of *Nala*, or about seven pages of the big oblong Bombay edition of the *Mahā-bhārata*. This would be a pitiful showing, if it were possible to do better with books now available; but I fear it is not. The next step is then to prepare a

number of little text-books (they must be *little* books) from which the beginner can see for himself how exceedingly easy the easy epic texts are. These texts must be chosen with skill and common sense and good taste. They must be purged of long-winded descriptive passages. They must not be puerile. (This objection lies against many much-read fables of the *Hitopadeśa*: these are quite proper for Hindu boys studying Sanskrit at the age of ten, but not for our students of twenty or more.) Above all, they must be in simple unstilted language, entertaining, full of rapidly moving action and incident. These requirements can all be met by an abbreviated text of the story of *Nala*.

Some sixty years ago, Charles Bruce, a pupil of Roth, trimmed down the story from about a thousand quatrains to about the half of that. It can be reduced to even narrower compass, and without impairing the charm of the really beautiful story, and so that a beginner can easily read and understand and enjoy the substance of the entire poem in the first two or three months after the very start. To this end I propose to print the Sanskrit text, each quatrain in four octosyllabic lines, with suspension of the sound-changes at the end of the first and third, and with a simple English version in a parallel column at the right.¹² Thus divested of the wholly adscititious difficulties of the strange alphabet and of all avoidable running-together of the words,—it is simply *amazing* to find how easy a really easy and well-chosen piece of the great epic may be made for an intelligent young student who has mastered the principal inflections and sound-changes.

Two other little anthologies are called for: one of interesting brief stories from the *Mahā-bhārata*, and one from the *Rāmāyana*. From the former, the *Śakuntalā*-story ought certainly to be read, as presenting the material of Kālidāsa's famous play. The story of *Yayāti* (1. 76-), the Gambling-scene (2. 60-), the wonderful Night-scene on the Ganges (15. 32-), in which the fallen heroes come forth and talk with the living, the Great Journey (17),—these and many others are available as easy and readable and characteristic specimens of the Great Epic.

¹² Specimens of this typographic procedure may be seen in the article on *Hindu Ascetics* in the *Transactions of the Am. Philological Association* for 1917, vol. 48.

As long as on the earth the hills
 Shall stand, and rivers run to sea,—
 So long the Tale of Rāma's Deeds
 Throughout the world shall famous be.

So says the Rāmāyaṇa itself (1. 2. 36), in almost the very words of Virgil, *In freta dum fluviī current, dum montibus umbrae, etc.* There is, I think, no other more immediate way of acquainting the Occidental with the very spirit of the Hindu, than by familiarizing him with a reasonable number of episodes from the Tale of Rāma's Deeds, the epic that has long been the Bible of untold millions and is so today.

A similar volume of quatrains (variously called proverbs, Sprüche, epigrams), each complete in itself and with a real point, each in simplest language and meter,—would be useful as providing matter for learning by heart. I am convinced that the student of Sanskrit should begin committing such stanzas to memory at the very first lesson, just as beginners in French are wont to learn LaFontaine. Such quatrains are easily culled from the Mahā-bhārata, or from the collections of Parab or Böhtlingk. A small anthology of passages illustrating the Hindu sense of humor would be very taking with beginners. Parab gives many such.¹³ An occasional selection from the Mahā-bhārata, like the Jackal's Prayer (12. 180), might well be put with it.

These little books are only four of a considerable number that the Indianists owe to the beginners. There should be one made up of extracts from the Ocean of the Rivers of Story or Kathā-sarit-sāgara. This should include characteristically diverse selections, such as Upakośā and the Four Gallants (4. 26-86), part of the Book of Noodles (61), and some of the Vampire-stories (75-99), such as the amusing tale of the Father who married the Daughter and his Son who married her Mother. Another should give extracts from the Purāṇas. Thus from the Vishṇu, what could be more interesting for the man who reads of the achievements of modern astronomy, than the Hindu theories (6. 3-) of the evolution and dissolution of the universe? and what could be finer and more fit for the century of the World-

¹³ Subhāsita-ratna-bhāndāgāra, 2d ed., Bombay, 1886, p. 622. See also Böhtlingk, *śuni dr̥ṣṭe*, etc., *ekonā viñśatir nāryah*, etc.

war than the Earth-song (4. 24)? At least four small volumes should be devoted to specimens from the Rigveda, the Atharvaveda, the Brāhmaṇas, and the Upanishads. These last might well be entitled 'Theosophy of the Hindus: their doctrine of the all-pervading God.'

Two Sanskrit dictionaries are greatly needed. The wonderful thesaurus of Böhtlingk and Roth was finished almost half a century ago, and (as the exploitation of the Artha-śāstra, for example, and of other texts makes evident) needs now to be thoroughly revised and brought up to date. For this very purpose there is in London, at the India Office Library, a large amount of unpublished lexicographical material which came from Aufrecht and Cappeller. But who is to find the money for so large an undertaking? and when and where may we look for two such giants as Böhtlingk and Roth to do that Herculean task?—But not only is a revised lexicon on a grand scale a desideratum,—even more pressing is the need of a dictionary of moderate compass for the use of beginners. For this purpose Cappeller's was good, and its price was small, but it is out of print. The second edition of Monier Williams's is full and accurate, but its price was 64 shillings before the war. All things considered,—typography and size¹⁴ and scope and low price,—Macdonell's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, issued in 1893, is of incomparable excellence. But the copies were all sold by 1910, and the book has now been unobtainable for ten years. All these three dictionaries were printed from type and not from electrotype plates. This was a very great and most unfortunate mistake. For a new issue cannot be made except by setting up the entire work from *a* to *izzard*, and at an expense which is now commercially almost out of the question.

Dictionaries, like tables of logarithms, ought never to be printed except from electrotype plates. As for Macdonell's book, its whole life upon the market was only seventeen years, a period lamentably short when compared with the time (the time of an expert) which the author spent in writing it. Instead of a separate glossary for each of the little volumes of text mentioned above, it would be far better to have a small but adequate dic-

¹⁴ Its weight is a trifle over 3 pounds; that of the St. Petersburg Lexicon is over 34.

tionary like Macdonell's. I am at a loss to know what course to suggest at this time, which is so *critical for the maintenance of Indic studies*. But as soon as the costs of production are lower, I think the best plan would be to reset Macdonell's dictionary, even if it were practically unchanged, and to electrotype the work, so that a new issue of say five hundred copies could be struck off at any time as needed, and with small expense.

As was just said, the present time is indeed a critical one in the history of Oriental studies. The war brought us to a height of moral elevation and of enthusiasm for the noblest ideals, which, on such a scale, was without precedent in human history. Among the signs of the unhappy reaction that has set in, are the fatal dawdlings of partisan polities and the wranglings for bonuses. Another is the feebler interest in things which, although not in a material way, do yet most truly enrich our life. But, with all the political and economic miseries that the war has brought us, it has also, for better or worse, brought the East nearer to the West. With this hard fact we *must* reckon. Students of the Orient must so direct their work as to make it most effective in helping our countrymen to understand and respect our neighbors across the Pacific, and to deal justly and honorably with them. We must realize that their prophets and saints and sages have made great attainments in what is most truly 'the fulness of life.' And to make this fact clear to the Occident, we must faithfully devote ourselves to just such prosaic tasks as those which I have outlined. If these are well done, done by teachers who themselves have the teachable habit of mind and never forget the broader bearings of their life-work, we may hope that Oriental studies will not fail to maintain their value and to justify the belief in their practical and political significance.

STUDIES IN BHĀSA

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

Introduction

No METHODICAL STUDY¹ has yet been made of the thirteen anonymous dramas issued as Nos. XV-XVII, XX-XXII, XXVI, XXXIX, and XLII of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and ascribed by their editor, Pandit T. Ganapati Sāstrī, to the celebrated playwright Bhāsa. The first attempt at a comprehensive review of the plays—and the only one that has contributed substantially to our knowledge of them—is found in the editor's own introductions to the *editio princeps* of the *Svapnavāsavadattā* and that of the *Pratimānāṭaka* respectively. Opinion may be divided as to whether the learned editor has fully vindicated his claims regarding the age of the dramas or the authorship of Bhāsa, but it seems unquestionable that the arguments brought forward by him in support of his case deserve serious consideration. Another approach to a study of these dramas is found in the introduction to a subsequent edition² of the *Svapnavāsavadattā* by Prof. H. B. Bhide. This author replies to the arguments of a scholar who had in the meanwhile published an article in a vernacular journal calling into question the conclusion of Ganapati Sāstrī regarding the authorship of Bhāsa, and attempts to re-establish it by adducing fresh proofs in support of it. Mr. Bhide then turns his attention to the question of Bhāsa's age, which he endeavors to fix by what may be termed a process of successive elimination. Incidentally it may be remarked that his arguments lead him to assign the dramas to an epoch even earlier than that claimed for them by Ganapati Sāstrī.³ While it would be invid-

¹ A complete bibliography of the literature, Indian (including the works in vernaculars, of which there is a considerable number already) and European, bearing on the subject, will be the theme of a separate article.

² The *Svapna Vasavadatta* of Bhāsa edited with Introduction, Notes etc. etc. by H. B. Bhide, . . . with Sanskrit Commentary (Bhavnagar, 1916).

³ According to Ganapati Sāstrī the author of these dramas, Bhāsa, 'must necessarily be placed not later than the third or second century B. C.'; according to Mr. Bhide, 475 B. C. to 417 B. C. would be the period of Bhāsa.

ious to belittle the work of these pioneers in the field and deny them their meed of praise, it must nevertheless be confessed that their investigations are characterised by a narrowness of scope and a certain perfunctoriness of treatment which unfortunately deprive them of all claims to finality. Vast fields of enquiry have been left practically untouched; and, it need not be pointed out, a study of these neglected questions might seriously modify the views on the plays and the playwright based on the facts now available.

Nor have the critics⁴ of Ganapati Sāstrī, who challenge his ascription of the plays to Bhāsa, attempted—perhaps they have not deemed it worth their while to attempt—to get below the surface; their investigations confine themselves to a very restricted field, upon the results of which their conclusions are based. Corresponding to the different isolated features of these plays selected by them for emphasis, different values are obtained by them for the epoch of these dramas; and having shown that these dates are incompatible with the probable age of Bhāsa, these writers have considered their responsibility ended.

Now whatever opinion may be held regarding the age of these plays it seems undeniable that they are worthy of very close study. Their discovery has given rise to some complicated literary problems, which demand elucidation. Their Prakrit, which contains some noteworthy peculiarities, requires analysis; their technique, which differs in a marked manner from that of hitherto known dramas, requires careful study; their metre, with its preponderance of the śloka, and their Alāmkāra of restricted scope, both call for minute investigation. The fragment⁵ Cārudatta alone, of which the Mṛchhakatikā looks almost like an enlarged version, suggests a whole host of problems. Some verses (or parts of verses) from these dramas are met with again in different literary works; we find others referred to in critical works of different epochs: have they been borrowed or quoted (as the case may be) from our dramas? If so, what chronologi-

⁴ Prof. Pandeya in the vernacular periodical *Sāradā* (Vol. 1, No. 1), who assigns the plays to the 10th century A. D.; and Dr. L. D. Barnett in *JRAS*, 1919, pp. 233f., who ascribes them to an anonymous poet of about the 7th century A. D.

⁵ Thereon see my article ‘‘Charudatta’’—A Fragment’ in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore), 1919.

cal conclusions follow from these references? Some of these questions have never been dealt with at all before; there are others whose treatment by previous writers must be called superficial and unsatisfactory; but all of them merit exhaustive investigation. In these Studies I shall try to discuss various problems connected with these plays with all the breadth of treatment they require. I hope that they will in some measure answer the demand.

At first I shall devote myself to collation of material; subsequently, when I have a sufficient number of facts at my disposal, duly tabulated and indexed, I shall turn my attention to the question of the age and the authorship of these dramas, and consider whether, from the material available, it is possible to deduce any definite conclusions regarding these topics. From the nature of the case it may not be possible to find for the question of the authorship an answer free from all elements of uncertainty; but it is hoped that the cumulative evidence of facts gleaned from a review of the plays from widely different angles will yield some positive result at least regarding their age.

In conclusion it should be made clear that nothing is taken for granted regarding the author or the age of these plays. It follows, therefore, that the choice of the title 'Studies in Bhāsa,' or the expression 'dramas of Bhāsa' if used in the sequel with reference to them, does not necessarily imply the acceptance of the authorship of Bhāsa; the use of Bhāsa's name should be regarded merely as a matter of convenience, unless the evidence adduced be subsequently found to justify or necessitate the assumption involved.

I. On certain archaisms in the Prakrit of these dramas.

The scope of this article, the first of the series, is restricted to a consideration of certain selected words and grammatical forms, occurring in the Prakrit of the dramas before us, which arrest our attention by their archaic character. There are many other questions relative to the Prakrit of these plays which await investigation, such as, for example, its general sound-system, its varieties, its distribution, etc.: they will be dealt with in subsequent articles. 'Archaic' and 'modern' are of course relative terms. The words noticed below are called 'archaic' in reference to what may be said to be the standard dialect-stage of the Prakrit of the

dramas of the classical period, such as those of Kālidāsa. No comparative study has yet been made of the Prakrit of Kālidāsa and his successors with a view to ascertaining the developmental differences (if any) obtaining between them; marked differences there are none; and we are constrained, in the absence of detailed study, to regard the Prakrits of the post-Kālidāsa dramas as static dialect-varieties showing only minute differences of vocabulary and style.

Methodologically the question whether all these thirteen anonymous plays are the works of one and the same author should have been taken up first for investigation. But even a cursory examination of these plays is enough to set at rest all doubts regarding the common authorship; moreover the point has already been dealt with in a fairly satisfactory manner by the editor of the plays, whose conclusions have not hitherto evoked adverse comment. The question will, however, in due course receive all the attention and scrutiny necessary.

Meanwhile we will turn to the discussion of what I regard as archaisms in the Prakrit of these plays.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SELECTED ARCHAISMS.

1. *amhāam* (= Skt. *asmākam*).

Svapna. 27 (twice; *Cetī*), 28 (*Cetī*); Pañca. 21 (Vṛddhagopālaka); Avi. 25 (*Dhātrī*), 29 (*Vidūṣaka*).

amhāam is used in the passages just quoted; but in other places the very same characters use the later form *amhāñam*, which is formed on the analogy of the thematic nominal bases: cf. *Cetī* in Svapna. 24, 32; *Vṛddhagopālaka* in Pañca. 20, 21; and *Dhātrī* in Avi. 23. The latter form occurs, moreover, in Cāru. 1 (*Sūtradhāra*), 34 (*Cetī*). The form *amhā(k)am*, it may be remarked, is neither mentioned by grammarians⁶ nor found in the dramas hitherto known. But Pāli, it will be recalled, has still *amhākam*, and Aśvaghoṣa's dramas (Lüders^{6a} 58) have preserved the corresponding *tum(h)āk(am)*. Owing to the simul-

⁶ Thus, for instance, Mārkandeya in his *Prākṛtasarvasva* (ed. Grantha-pradarsani, Vizagapatam, 1912), IX.~95, lays down specifically that the gen. plu. of the 1st pers. pron. in Śauraseni is *amhām* or *amhāñam*.

^{6a} Here and in similar references 'Lüders' stands for Lüders, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen (Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft I)*, Berlin 1911.

taneous occurrence in our dramas of both the forms in the speech of one and the same character, we are not in a position to decide at this stage whether the *amhāam* of our manuscripts is a genuinely archaic use of the word or whether there is a contamination here with the Skt. *asmākam*. It may again be that the promiscuous use of the doublets points to a period of transition.

2. Root *arh-*.

Svapna. 7 (Tāpasi); *Abhi*. 5 (Tārā).

Twice the root appears in Prakrit passages in these dramas with unassimilated conjunct: once as a nominal base *arhā* (*Svapna*. 7) and again as a verbum finitum *arhadi*⁷ (*Abhi*. 5). In the latter case the editor conjecturally emends the reading of the manuscripts to *arihadi*. *A priori* the conjunct *rh* seems hardly admissible in a Prakrit dialect;⁸ and one is tempted to follow the editor of the dramas in regarding it as a mistake of the scribe. In the Śaurasenī of later dramas an epenthetic *i* divides the conjunct: *arih-* (Pischel 140). Of this form we have two instances in our dramas: *arihadi* in *Pratimā*. 6 (Avadātikā) and *anarihāni* in *Abhi*. 15 (Sītā). In another place, however, the word appears with an epenthetic *u*:⁹ *Abhi*. 60 (Sītā) we have *anaruhāni* (instead of *anarihāni*) in a passage which is otherwise identical with *Abhi*. 15 quoted above. Thus, an emendation would have seemed inevitable in the two isolated instances containing the conjunct, had not the Turfan manuscripts of Aśvaghōṣa's dramas, with which our manuscripts will be shown to have a number of points in common, testified to the correctness of the reading, by furnishing a probable instance of the identical orthographic peculiarity. In a passage from a speech placed in the mouth either of the Courtesan or the Vidūṣaka (and therefore Śaurasenī) occurs a word that is read by Prof. Lüders as *arhessi* (Lüders 49). Unfortunately the portion of the palm-leaf which contains the conjunct *rh* is chipped, and the reading, therefore,

⁷ The actual reading of the text is *a(rhāriha)di*, meaning apparently that the MS. reading is *arhadi* and that the editor would emend to *arihadi*.

⁸ See Pischel, *Grammatik d. Prakrit-Sprachen* (abbreviated in the sequel as 'Pischel'), § 332.

⁹ Pischel (§ 140) remarks that the Devanāgarī and South-Indian recensions of *Sakuntalā* and *Mālavikā*, and the *Priyadarśikā*, have *aruhadi* in Śaurasenī; according to him it is an incorrect use.

cannot claim for itself absolute certainty. However that may be, Prof. Lüders appears to have in his own mind no doubt regarding the correctness of the reading adopted by him. Should this restoration be correct, we should have a precedent for our seemingly improbable reading. It is not easy to explain satisfactorily the origin of this anomaly. We can only conjecture, as Prof. Lüders does, that the conjunct *rh* was still pronounced without the *svarabhakti*, or was at any rate written¹⁰ in that manner. Assuming that our reading of the word *arh-* in both sets of manuscripts is correct, this coincidence, which is a proof as positive as it is fortuitous of the affinity between our dramas and those of Aśvaghoṣa, has an importance which cannot be overrated.

3. *ahake* (= Skt. *aham*).

Cāru. 23 (Śakāra).

Occurs in these dramas only once in the (Māgadhi) passage just quoted. Śakāra uses only in two other places the nominative case of the pronoun of the first person, namely Cāru. 12 (which is a verse), and 15; in both these instances, however, as elsewhere in our dramas, occurs the ordinary Tatsama *aham*. The derivation of *ahake* is sufficiently clear; and since in Śauraseni and Māgadhi the *svārthe*-suffix *-ka* may be retained unaltered (Pischel 598), the form is theoretically, at any rate, perfectly regular. It has moreover the sanction of the grammarians, being specifically noticed in a Prakrit grammar, namely the Prākrta-prakāśa (11. 9) of Vararuci, which is the oldest Prakrit grammar preserved (Pischel 32). In his paradigm of the 1st pers. pron. Pischel encloses this form in square brackets, indicating therewith that there are no instances of its use in the available manuscripts. Probably this view represents the actual state of things in Pischel's time. It would be wrong on that account to regard its occurrence here as a pedantic use of a speculative form which is nothing more than a grammarian's abstraction. For we now have in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas an authentic instance of the use of a still older form, *ahakam*, in the 'dramatic' Māgadhi of the Duṣṭa

¹⁰ It would be worth while examining the Prakrit inscriptions to ascertain whether they contain any instances of this usage, and if so to determine its epochal and topographical limits.

(Bösewicht) ; Lüders 36. The *ahake* of these dramas and of Vararuci stands midway and supplies the necessary connecting link between the *ahakam* of Aśvaghoṣa and the *hake*, *hag(g)e* of later grammarians and dramatists. The legitimacy and archaism of *ahake* may, therefore, be regarded as sufficiently established. Incidentally the correspondence with Vararuci is worthy of note. —The occasion for the use, in this instance, of the stronger form *ahake*,¹¹ instead of the usual *aham*, appears to be that the context requires an emphasis to be laid on the subject of the sentence: *ahake dāva vañcide . . .* 'Even I¹¹ have been duped . . .' — The later forms *hake*, *ha(g)e* occur neither in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas nor in our dramas, a fact which is worthy of remark.

4. *āma*.

Svapna. 45 (Vidūṣaka), 80 (Padmāvati), etc. ; Cāru. 4 (Naṭi), 20 (Śakāra) ; etc. etc.

An affirmative particle occurring very frequently in these dramas and used in all dialects alike. This word, which is met with also in the modern Dravidian dialects, where it has precisely the same sense, seems to have dropped out of the later Prakrit. It need not on that account be set down as a late Dravidianism introduced into the manuscripts of our dramas by South Indian scribes, for its authenticity is sufficiently established by its occurrence in Pāli on the one hand and in the Turfan manuscripts of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas on the other (Lüders 46).

5. *karia* (= Skt. *kṛtvā*).

Svapna. 52 (Vidūṣaka), 63 (Vāsavadattā), 70 (Pratihārī) ; Pratijñā. 10, 11, and 15 (Haṁsaka), 41, 45, and 50 (Vidūṣaka) ; etc. etc.

The regular Śaurasenī form is *kadua* (Pischel 581, 590). But Hemacandra (4. 272) allows also *karia*. While this rule of the grammarian is confirmed by the *sporadic* occurrence of *kari(y)a* in manuscripts, it is interesting to remark that it is met with also in a Śaurasenī passage in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas (Lüders 46).

¹¹ [Editorial note.—The suffix *ka* cannot, in my opinion, have this meaning. Here it is very likely pitying ("poor unlucky I") ; or it may be *svārthe*.—F. E.]

According to Pischel (*KB* 8. 140, quoted by Lüders in *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, p. 48, footnote 3) the use of *karia* is confined exclusively to the Nāgarī and South Indian recensions of Śakuntalā and Mālavikā. But its occurrence in the Turfan manuscripts of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas shows that it is a genuinely archaic form and not a vagary of South Indian or Nāgarī manuscripts.—*kadua* does not occur in our dramas, nor in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas. Incidentally we may note that our plays also furnish instances of the use of the parallel form *gacchia* (Skt. *gatvā*) of which the regular (later) Śaurasenī form is *gadua*; see Cāru. 1, etc. etc.

6. *kissa, kiśśa* (= Skt. *kasya*).

Avi. 16 (Vidūṣaka), 20 (Nalinikā), 71 and 73 (Vidūṣaka); Pratimā. 6 (Sītā); Cāru. 24 (Śakāra).

The dialects are Śaurasenī (*kissa*) and Māgadhi (*kiśśa*). Formally these words represent the genitive singular of the interrogative pronoun, but here as elsewhere they are used exclusively in the sense of the ablative *kasmat*—‘why?’, ‘wherefore?’. Neither of these words—in this stage of phonetic development—occurs in the Prakrit of the grammarians and other dramatists (with but one exception), which have *kīsa* (*kiśā*) instead (Pischel 428). *kissa* occurs frequently in Pāli, *kiśśa* is used by the Duṣṭa (‘Bösewicht’) in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas (Lüders 36); in both these instances the words have precisely the same sense as here. Like *ahake* (above no. 3), *kissa* (*kiśśa*) corresponds exactly to the theoretical predecessors of forms in use in the Prakrit of later dramas. *kīsa* occurs once in these plays also: *Svapna*. 29 (Cetī).

Unless a period of transition be assumed, *kissa* would appear to be the right form to use here. For, *kīsa* may represent the spurious correction of a learned transcriber; but were *kīsa* (*kiśā*) the original reading in all these places, it would be difficult to explain the deliberate substitution of an archaic *kissa* (*kiśśa*) in its place. In other words I assume the principle of progressive correction, that is the tendency of successive generations of scribes to modernize the Prakrit of older works so as to bring it in line with the development of the Prakrit of their own times. Unless, therefore, as already remarked, it is assumed that the simultaneous use of the two forms be regarded as indicating a period of transition, *kissa* (*kiśśa*) would appear to be the form proper to the dialect

of our dramas. In passing it may be pointed out that *kissa* (*kiśśa*) cannot be arrived at by the Prakritization of any Sanskrit form; therefore a question of contamination does not rise in this case.

7. *khu* (= Skt. *khalu*).

Svapna. 5 (Vāsavadattā), 7 (Tāpasi), 11 (Padmāvatī), 13 (Cetī), etc. etc.

Written almost throughout without the doubling of the initial. Now the rule deduced from an observation of the usage of manuscripts appears to be that after short vowels and after *e* and *o* (which then are shortened under those circumstances), we should have *kkhu*; after long vowels, however, *khu* (Pischel 94). This rule applies to Śaurasenī and Māgadhī alike. But in the manuscripts of Aśvaghosa's dramas the initial is never doubled; and in our text of the present plays there are only two instances of the doubling, both of which are spurious and due to mistakes of copyists. We will turn our attention to these first. They are:—
 (1) Abhi. 23 (Sītā) : *aho aarunā-kkhu issarā*,¹² and (2) Pratimā. 22 (Sītā) : *nam saha-dhamma-āriṇī-kkhu aham*. It is quite evident that the doubling in these instances, which takes place after the long finals *ā* and *ī*, is contrary to every rule, and is nothing more than a mistake of some transcriber. It may therefore be assumed that at the stage in which the dialects of our dramas find themselves the doubling of the initial in *khu* had not yet taken effect. We notice here, however, the first step taken to its treatment as an enclitic. In the dramas of Aśvaghosa *khu* remains unaltered throughout with undoubled initial,¹³ but in our dramas we find frequently *hu* substituted for it in the combinations *na + khu* and *kim nu + khu*: Svapna. 23 (Vāsavadattā), 58 (Vidūṣaka), 63 (Vāsavadattā), etc.; Pratijñā. 9 (Hamsaka); Pañca. 20 (Vrddhagopālaka); Avi. 79 (Nalinikā), 82 (Kurangi), 92 (Nalinikā); etc. etc. Sporadically *khu* is retained unaltered even in these combinations.¹⁴

¹² But note Svapna. 27 (Vāsavadattā): *aho akarupā khu issarā*. Of course the retention of the intervocalic *k* is unjustifiable.

¹³ Prof. Lüders does cite **t.kkhu* in Aśvaghosa's dramas; but, as he himself points out, it is far from certain that we have the particle *khu* before us (Lüders 51, footnote 3).

¹⁴ For instance, *kim nu khu*, Svapna. 63 (Vāsavadattā).

8. *tava* (= Skt. *tava*).

Svapna. 17 (Tāpasī), 40 (Padmāvatī), 78 (Dhātrī); Pratimā. 8 (Avadātikā); etc. etc.

This is the usual form of the word in our plays in all dialects alike; in addition, of course, the old enclitic *te* (*de*) is also in use. The Śauraseni of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas furnishes also an example of its use in the Prakrit of dramas (Lüders 46), and it is common enough in Pāli. On the other hand the later forms *tu(m)ha*, and *tujjha* are unknown alike to the Prakrit of Aśvaghoṣa and these plays. According to Prakrit grammarians and the usage of the manuscripts of later dramas *tu(m)ha* (and not *tava*) is proper to Śauraseni;¹⁵ evidently this represents the state of things at a later epoch. The use of *tava* seems later to be restricted to Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī (Pischel 421).

9. *tuvam* (= Skt. *tvam*).

Svapna. 37 (Padmāvatī), 38 (Vāsavadattā), 53 (Padminikā), 54 (Padminikā), 55 (Padminikā); Pratijñā. 40 (Vidūṣaka), 42 (Vidūṣaka); Avi. 73 (Vidūṣaka), 77 (Vidūṣaka), 79 (Kuraṅgī); Ūru. 104 (Durjaya); Cāru. 2 (Naṭī); etc. etc.

This form, in which the assimilation has not yet taken effect, disappeared from the Prakrit of later dramas, which substitute *tumān* in its place. But it is mentioned by Prakrit grammarians (Pischel 420), and it is the regular form of the nominative case of the 2nd pers. pron. in Pāli and inscriptional Prakrit. It was, moreover, in use still in Aśvaghoṣa's time (Lüders 46), which is significant from our viewpoint. The later form *tuvam* occurs sporadically in our dramas also: Svapna. 78 (Dhātrī); Pratijñā. 58 (Bhaṭa and Gātrasevaka), 62 (Bhaṭa); Avi. 29 (Vidūṣaka), 92 (Vasumitrā). In respect to the references from the Pratijñā. (58, 62) it should be remarked that the manuscripts upon which our text is based are just at this place defective, and full of mistakes; consequently the readings adopted in the text cannot by any means be looked upon as certain.—Twice *tuvam* is used in the *accusative*¹⁶ case: Ūru. 105 (Durjaya), Cāru. 71 (Ganikā).

¹⁵ See Pischel 421 for a discussion of the merits and use of the different Prakrit equivalents of Skt. *tava*.

¹⁶ In the *paradigma* of the pronoun of the 2nd pers. Pischel gives the form *tuvam* for the nom. and acc. sing., but he encloses it in square brackets.

But the usual form of the accusative case in our plays, as in later Prakrit, is *tumām*: e. g. *Svapna*. 27 and 32 (Ceti).

10. *dissa-, diśśa-* (= Skt. *drśya-*).

Svapna. 70 (Pratihari); *Avi*. 22 (Nalinikā), 70 (Vidūṣaka); *Pratijñā*. 58 (Bhaṭa); *Bāla*. 50 (Vṛddhagopālaka); *Madhyama*. 4 (Brāhmaṇi); *Ūru*. 101 (Gāndhāri); *Abhi*. 54 (Sītā); *Cāru*. 16 (Śakāra); *Pratimā*. 5 (Sītā); etc.

In the above instances we have the root-form *dissa-*. On the other hand, in a number of other places the later form *diśa-*, with the simplification of the conjunct, has been used. The relation *dissa-: diśa-* is the same as that of *kissa: kīsa* discussed in paragraph 6. According to Pischel *dissa-* occurs in the Ardhamāgadhī of the Jaina canon, but *not* in the dramas, which substitute *diśa-* instead (Pischel 541). This later form *diśa-* is met with in our dramas only in : *Avi*. 28 (Vidūṣaka), 91 (Vasumitrā); *Pratijñā*. 54 (Vidūṣaka); *Cāru*. 16 (Śakāra). It is worth noting that in one instance (*Cāru*. 16) the two forms occur on the same page and are placed in the mouth of the same character (Śakāra). The remarks made in paragraph 6 on the relation of the forms *kissa: kīsa* are also applicable here. It is interesting to note that the passive base *dissa-* is in use not only in Pāli, but also in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas (Lüders 58).

11. *vaam* (= Skt. *vayam*).

Svapna. 31 (Vidūṣaka); *Avi*. 93 (Vasumitrā); *Cāru*. 49 (Vidūṣaka).

In *Svapna*. (p. 31) the word is spelt *vayam*; but in conformity with the orthography of the manuscripts of our dramas, which omit the intervocalic *y*, the reading *vaam* should be adopted also in this instance. The form proper to Śaurasenī, to which dialect all the above passages belong, is *amhe* (Pischel 419). But it is interesting to note that Vararuci (12. 25) and Mārkandeya 70, according to Pischel 419, permit the use of *va(y)am* in Śaurasenī. And again in the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa we do actually meet with an instance of the use of *vayam* in a dialect which is probably Śaurasenī (Lüders 58). The form *amhe* does not occur in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas. And in our plays it occurs, as far as my observation goes, only three times: twice, curiously enough, in the sense of (the nomi-

native case of) the dual *āvām* (Abhi. 48; Pratimā. 58), and once in the *accusative*¹⁷ case (Pratimā. 35). *va(y)am* may therefore be regarded as a form peculiar and proper to the older Prakrits.

SUMMARY

Above have been set forth a number of peculiarities of vocabulary and grammar in which the Prakrit of our dramas differs from that of the dramas of Kālidāsa and other classical playwrights. Every one of these peculiarities is shared by the Prakrit of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas. In some instances the archaic and the more modern form are used side by side in our dramas: e. g. *amhām* and *amhānam*; *tuvām* and *tumām*; *kissa* and *kīsa*; *dissa-* and *dīsa-*; *arh-*, *arih-* and *aruh-*. But in other instances the archaic forms are used to the exclusion of the later forms: e. g. *ahake* (later *hage*), *va(y)am* (later *amhe*, Nom. Plu.), *tava* (later *tumha*), *karia* (later *kadua*), and *āma* (obsolete). The absence of doubling of the initial of the particle *khu* after ē and ō may be taken to indicate an epoch when the shortening of the final *e* and *o* had not yet taken effect. Worthy of special note are the forms *ahake* and *āma*, which not only are unknown to later Prakrit, but are not the regular *tadbhavas* of any Sanskrit words. It should also be remembered that *ahake* and *va(y)am* (used in our plays practically to the exclusion of *hage* and *amhe* respectively) are noticed in Vararuci's Prākṛta-prakāśa, which is believed to be the oldest Prakrit grammar extant.

The affinities with Aśvaghoṣa's Prakrit pointed out above have a bearing on the age of our dramas which will receive our attention in due course. Meanwhile it will suffice to note that these affinities go far to prove that below the accretion of ignorant mistakes and unauthorised corrections, for which the successive generations of scribes and 'diaskeuasts' should be held responsible, there lies in the dramas before us a solid bedrock of archaic Prakrit, which is much older than any we know from the dramas of the so-called classical period of Sanskrit literature.

¹⁷ It should be remarked that *amh-* is the regular base of the oblique cases of this pronoun, and that *amhe*, accus., is regular in all dialects.

CINNAMON, CASSIA AND SOMALILAND

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THE ANCIENT SEMITES sometimes took their tribal totems from trees, which they thought of as animate. The leaves, bark, gum or wood of such trees they conceived as preserving the attributes of the tree itself. Thickets, groves or forests of such trees were sacred places, to trespass in which was disastrous. Setting fire to such a thicket to bring the ground under cultivation is said, in more than one Arabian story, to have brought about the departure of spirits of the trees in the form of flying serpents who brought death to the intruders. From very early times certain trees and plants were thought to possess special virtues for ceremonial purification, and it is not impossible that such uses antedated animal sacrifice as a means of atonement to the higher powers.¹ Echoes of such beliefs may be found in the Old Testament fable of the trees that chose the bramble to be their king.²

Among known products of Arabia, those especially valued for purposes of purification were the lemon grass (*idhhir*)³—of which the woody root is more fragrant than the hollow stem (*Andropogon schoenanthus*)—which grows tall and strong in the valleys of streams in both Arabia and Somaliland; the senna (*Cassia angustifolia*), a leguminous shrub native in the Somali uplands; the myrrh (*Balsamodendron myrrha*), a small tree whose rudimentary leaves offer little evaporating surface to the blazing sun of its native uplands; the acacia (*Acacia seyal*), yielding a valued hard wood and a gum of specific virtue; the balsam (*Balsamodendron gileadense*), a poorer cousin of the myrrh; the sweet flag or calamus (*Acorus calamus*); the ladanum or rock rose (*Cistus villosus*); the fragrant blooming *kadi* or screw pine (*Pandanus odoratissimus*); and most valued of all, the frankincense (*Boswellia Carterii*), a fully-leaved small tree which requires more water than the myrrh and grows therefore in val-

¹ W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, 133; cf. Herodotus, 3. 107.

² Judg. 9. 8. *sqq.*

³ Smith, *op. cit.* 142.

leys at the base of hills, which attract some of the moisture of the monsoons, around the enclosed bays of South Arabia and the valleys of the Horn of Africa.

So firmly rooted was the belief in the efficacy of the lemon grass that Mohammed, in making his reservations of sacred land in Arabia, on which it was forbidden to cut fodder, fell trees, or hunt game (the natural products of the holy soil being exempt from human appropriation), was compelled, we are told by Robertson Smith, to except the lemon grass because of an ancient custom that allowed it to be cut for certain purposes, 'for entombment and purification of houses,' uses which persist to the present day.⁴ Myrrh also had its peculiar uses for the entombment of the dead; senna and frankincense for the purification of the living. Ritual observance in various faiths in our own day calls for a strict fast before partaking of the sacrament. In more primitive times, and even today, as Robertson Smith shows of the Masai in East Africa,⁵ such observance requires not only fasting, but the use of strong purges that the body may contain nothing unclean and the individual thus more surely make his atonement. Such was, probably, one of the objects of the formulae of the Babylonians quoted by Dr. Jastrow, which depended apparently upon senna as a prime ingredient.⁶

Frankincense had a religious value greater than the rest, whether its odor was used in the form of ointments or was produced by burning the gum as an altar sacrifice. No other product of antiquity was collected with such strict religious precautions. The *Periplus* tells us that it could be gathered only by certain individuals;⁷ Pliny adds that they must be men upright in life, living in celibacy during the gathering season;⁸ and Marco Polo tells of the islands off the south coast of Arabia⁹ whereof one was reserved for the women and the other for the men during the gathering season.

Such, in brief, were the principal media of purification of the early Semitic world. The demand for them in neighboring coun-

⁴ Smith, *op. cit.* 142.

⁵ Smith, *op. cit.* 434.

⁶ *Trans. Roy. Soc. Med.* 7. 2. 133.

⁷ *Periplus*, 29. 32.

⁸ Pliny, *H. N.* 12. 30.

⁹ Marco Polo, 30. 31.

tries gave a very early impetus to international commerce. Egyptian records as early as the 5th Dynasty tell of Punt expeditions yielding incense and aromatics. The well-known Punt reliefs of the 18th Dynasty tell of frankincense and myrrh, ointments and fragrant woods.¹⁰ Babylonian and Assyrian tribute lists tell of the same substances, and of leaves used for the ceremonial purgatives.¹¹ It is here that the literary tradition brings in the words, cinnamon and cassia, which refer today to the bark and wood of the tree laurel of India and tropical Asia (*Cinnamomum tamala*). But it would seem that such reference is not borne out by the original texts.

The occasion for this doubt is the well-known fact that laurel varieties will not grow where lime is present in the soil, that they require considerable moisture, and the tree laurel in particular abundant seasonal rainfall.¹² In the Somali peninsula, which the Greeks and Romans thought to be the home of the cinnamon, calcareous rock is everywhere found, the uplands being thereby arid, while calcareous clay is characteristic of the river bottoms. These conditions, with scanty rainfall and high average temperature, make it improbable that laurel varieties ever grew there. The same testimony is furnished alike in geological history and in modern exploration. Fossil cinnamomums are found in Asia but not in Africa.¹³ R. E. Drake-Brockman, a British officer stationed at Berbera, made special inquiries some years ago at my request, interviewing Somali traders from all the caravan routes and showing them cinnamon bark, wood and leaf. He found them utterly ignorant of any such product,¹⁴ and writes, 'had cinnamon been a product of the Horn of Africa it is hardly reasonable to suppose that it would have so completely disappeared. I have never met with it in any part of the interior, nor do those Somalis who are acquainted with the imported article know of the existence, even of an inferior quality of it. Frankincense and myrrh are collected today, as they were two or three thousand years ago, in what is now British Somaliland.'

A recent Italian expedition headed by Bricchetti explored all

¹⁰ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 1. 161; 2. 265, etc.

¹¹ Cf. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, pp. 52, 134-136, etc.

¹² Watt, *Commercial Products of India*, pp. 311-313.

¹³ Engler and Prantl, *Die natürlichen Pflanzenfamilien*, 3. 3. 157-163.

¹⁴ *British Somaliland*, pp. 6, 8, 9.

parts of Italian Somaliland, bringing back a full botanical collection, reported on by Professor R. Pirotta of Rome, in which no laurel varieties appear.¹⁵ Similarly negative results are found in subsequent Italian colonial reports. Mr. S. E. Chandler, of the Imperial Institute, in a recent letter expresses similar views: 'The crux of the question is whether any Lauraceous bark was, or could have been, obtained from the indigenous flora from the Horn of Africa. So far as I can ascertain, the answer is in the negative. No cinnamomums occur in tropical Africa.' On this opinion Mr. H. W. Dickinson, of the Science Museum, South Kensington, observes: 'He practically negatives the possibility that any tree of the cinnamon-bearing laurel variety could have been obtained from the Horn of Africa.' The researches of Robertson Smith apparently yielded nothing concerning cinnamon, which does not appear among his lists of ceremonial substances valued by the ancient Arabs. The literary tradition, however, is explicit as to substances bearing the names, cinnamon and cassia. The explanation may be found by inquiring into the significance of the names themselves.

So far as the Egyptian reliefs are concerned, Dr. Breasted informs me, the translation, cinnamon, is merely hypothetical, the original being *tyspsy* from the root *spsy*, meaning 'to sweeten': so that the word designates nothing more than a wood or product of fragrant or agreeable taste.

In a list of commercial substances clearly of ceremonial application in Ezekiel we find as products of South Arabia קְרָה and קְנָה translated in our English versions as cassia and calamus.¹⁶ In the LXX the verse is lacking, but קְרָה appears as *κασία* among the products of Judah. The קְנָה may be either the sweet flag or the lemon grass. קְרָה, possibly connected with a root קָרַד 'to cut', suggests rather the Babylonian *kasu*, the Somaliland senna.

This leguminous shrub, still known botanically as *Cassia* and native in the Horn of Africa, reaches the market in two forms—the long, stiff pods, and the tender leaves. The pods are gathered from the plant and tied in bundles without covering. The plant is cut down and spread in the sun to dry. The leaves are

¹⁵ Bricchetti, *Somalia e Benadir*, pp. 628-629, 700-726.

¹⁶ Ezek. 27. 19.

then stripped off and packed in bags. Senna reaches the market in both forms, and from the same places, to this day, and is described in the pharmaceutical books as *folia sennae* and *folliculi sennae*.¹⁷ A dealer in drugs tells me that he is now carrying 'Tinnevelly pods' (Somali senna) for the first time to meet the insistent demand of Russian Jewish women; a curious survival indeed, if that race came originally from South Arabia.

The tabernacle specifications in Exodus,¹⁸ probably later in their present form than the text of Ezekiel, give in this connection three substances—**קְרָה** and **קְנֵמָן**, rendered by the LXX *κάλαμον*, *iris*, and *κιννάμωμον*. The rendering *iris* is interesting, this being the orris root of commerce noted by Theophrastus¹⁹ as an ingredient of sacred ointments among the Greeks, but found by them much nearer home than Arabia. *Κιννάμωμον* raises at once our question of the laurel product to which the word is now applied. The Hebrew form **קְנֵמָן-בְּשָׁם** suggests not only that the substance was sweet, but also that there might be a **קְנֵמָן** that was not sweet; and the form **קְנֵמָן** may possibly be a verbal noun derived from a root **קָנַם**, to set up, erect or bundle, applicable to any product brought in that form by the caravans, including the roots of the lemon grass. There is, of course, some doubt as to the existence of such a root, but a similar form **קָנַן** means, to set up, build up, and hence to nest; and Herodotus seems to have such a meaning in mind when he says that 'cinnamon comes from great birds' nests in India'.²⁰ That the form of the package is still considered in commerce, I note from a modern specification for licorice coming from a merchant in Valencia, Spain, which passed over my desk a few days ago: 'Natural, in branches, completely dried, in bales, perfectly fastened, without burlap.' In a Psalm of uncertain date²¹ we have the words **קְצִיעָות** and **אֲהָלוֹת** rendered by the LXX *κασία* and *στακτή* (a word applied alike to myrrh and balsam) and in a passage in Proverbs,²² **אֲהָלִים** **קְנֵמָן** rendered by the LXX

¹⁷ Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, art. 'Senna'.

¹⁸ Exod. 30. 23-24.

¹⁹ Theophrastus, H. P. 9, 9, 2.

²⁰ Herodotus 3. 110.

²¹ Ps. 45. 8.

²² Prov. 7. 17.

κιννάμωμον and κρόκινον, saffron (*Crocus sativus*), an interesting reading again suggesting substitution of a substance found nearer the Greek world. Finally in the late text of Ben Sira²³ we have in a list of ceremonial perfumes, κιννάμωμον and ἀσπάλαθος, but no cassia. Aspalathus (*Genista acanthoclada*) is an aromatic shrub native in Palestine; so that in Ben Sira's day, notwithstanding the maritime trade of the Red Sea was far more active than formerly, the products of the south were not exclusively specified for the 'sweet savor unto the Lord.'

The Hebrew writings give us, then, two substances: קְגַמּוֹן things bundled; and קְרַדָּה things cut; with a variant, קְצִיעֹות things stripped. The difference no doubt was that the first, whatever its nature, could be tied to a camel's back as a fagot or bundle of twigs, sticks or roots, while the second had to be packed in bags.

The Greek geographers knew little of Arabia, but they diligently pieced together their scraps of information in a definite form, hardly warranted by the material. The Persian Empire had established for the first time a sovereignty coterminous with the Greek and the Hindu worlds, and a Greek adventurer²⁴ in the employ of a Persian monarch had demonstrated the feasibility of navigation between India and Egypt. Following the conquests of Alexander, this sea trade was steadily developed, but principally by Arabian and Indian enterprise, for the Greeks give us mainly second-hand information until after the Christian era. Herodotus,²⁵ who had personally visited both Babylonia and Egypt, mentions κασία as a spice brought from Arabia, and remarks that the Greeks took the word κιννάμωμον from the Phoenicians as an equivalent to κάρφεα, cut sticks, apparently still making the distinction primarily from the form of package. One of the earliest Greek geographers to give us details of trade is Agatharchides,²⁶ a tutor of one of the Ptolemies, perhaps librarian of Alexandria, who had an attractive literary style but no personal knowledge of lands beyond Egypt. He links together, in a passage describing the region of the elephant hunts, κάρδαμον and palm; again,

²³ Ecclesiasticus 24. 15.

²⁴ Scylax of Caryanda: Herodotus, 4. 44.

²⁵ Herodotus, 2. 86; 3. 111.

²⁶ Agatharchides, ap. Diod. 84. 103; ap. Phot. 87, 97, 101, 102, 103, 110.

among products brought to Palestine by the South Arabian caravans, he mentions frankincense. He describes the country of the Sabaeans as a land yielding balsam and cassia, having great forests of myrrh and frankincense, with *κινναμώμον φοίνιξ* and calamus. This cinnamon-palm suggests the *kadi* of Yemen, which Glaser²⁷ proposed to identify with the *תְּקִנָּה* of Ezekiel; though for that I should rather suggest *idhhir* or lemon grass. Herodotus says that cassia 'grows in a shallow lake,'²⁸ suggesting a rush or grass of some sort. Agatharchides goes on to tell of the great wealth of the Sabaeans derived from their trade in incense and aromatics, and of the enervating effects of their spicy breezes—a romantic flourish, derived perhaps from taboo, but effectively used by Milton in his *Paradise Lost*.²⁹ He refers elsewhere to ship-building industry at the mouth of the Indus.

Artemidorus copied from Agatharchides, and Strabo³⁰ in turn from Artemidorus without other knowledge of the eastern sea trade than he could obtain by talking with Alexandrian merchants who told him that about 120 ships sailed from Myos-hormos to India. Strabo takes for granted the Sabaeon forests of Agatharchides without locating them. The military expedition of Aelius Gallus penetrated as far as the Sabaeon capital in Strabo's day. The commander was Strabo's friend, and personally told him the details of the enterprise. As they reported no spice forests, Strabo says only that the expedition turned back two days' journey from the land of spices. Indeed this mythical forest which Strabo pushes out at first in South Arabia, and finally in the Horn of Africa to Cape Guardafui itself, reminds one very much of the Western Sea where the sun sets,³¹ which similarly recedes in the Chinese Annals from Lop-Nor to the mouth of the Tagus. Cinnamon, cassia and other spices, he says, are so abundant in the land of the Sabaeans that they are used instead of sticks and firewood; and again, pitch (perhaps balsam) and goats' beards are burned to ward off the noxious effects of the spicy atmosphere.³² Herodotus has a similar story about safeguarding the frankincense

²⁷ *Skizze*, p. 41.

²⁸ Herodotus 3. 110.

²⁹ 4. 156-165.

³⁰ Strabo, 16. 4. 19; 3. 5. 12; 16. 4. 22-24.

³¹ Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 51, 77; *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 153.

³² Strabo, 16. 4. 19; cf. Smith, *op. cit.* 325, 331.

gatherers by burning styrax.³³ Here, surely, we have echoes of Semitic sacrifice and purification ritual, further suggested by the statement that the gatherers wear skins, evidently from the sacrificial victims. The country of the Sabaeans, he says, produces myrrh, frankincense and cinnamon (evidently copying from Agatharchides' cinnamon-palm), while along the coast are found balsam, sweet-smelling palms, calamus, and another kind of herb of very fragrant smell, but which is soon dissipated. Thus far Arabia. On the African side³⁴ he brings us to the frankincense country with its promontory, temple and grove of poplars, its rivers Isis and Nilus, both producing myrrh and frankincense, beyond which lies the tract that bears the false cassia, frankincense, and in the interior, cinnamon, from which flow rivers which produce rushes in abundance (probably the lemon-grass). We have here a word 'cinnamon' taken from Agatharchides who applied it to a palm, and referred to Cape Guardafui as the extreme limit of Strabo's nautical knowledge. But he says also that cassia was 'the growth of bushes,' and that, according to some writers, 'the greater part of the cassia is brought from India.' Nothing that Strabo says of the cinnamon identifies it clearly with the laurel family; nor, indeed, is this the case until we come to the author of the *Periplus*, who, after the countries yielding myrrh and frankincense, describes Ras-Hafun below Cape Guardafui as a place where cinnamon was largely 'produced,'³⁵—a phrase which can be applied to a transit trade, such as other items in the list would indicate this to have been. This led Cooley to conclude that there was near the eastern coast below Cape Guardafui a

³³ Herodotus 3. 107; cf. Smith, *op. cit.* 437.

³⁴ Strabo, 16. 4. 14.

³⁵ *Periplus*:—8 (Malao) Ἐκφέρεται... κασσία. σκληρότερα καὶ δούκα καὶ μάκειρ, τὰ εἰς Ἀράβιαν προχωροῦντα.

10 (Mosyllum) Ἐξάγεται... κασσίας χρῆμα πλεύστον (διὸ καὶ μειζόνων πλοίων χρήζει τὸ ἐμπόριον) καὶ δλλη εὐωδία καὶ ἀρώματα... (Cassia trade meant larger ships).

12 (Aromatum emporium) Προχωρεῖ... τὰ προειρημένα. γίνεται δὲ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ κασσία καὶ γίζειρ καὶ δούφη καὶ δρωμα καὶ μάγλα καὶ μοτῶ καὶ λίβανος. (An import and export list in which γίνεται can stand for ἐκφέρεται; while γίζειρ may represent *idhkhir*.)

13 (Opone) εἰς ἦν καὶ αὐτῷ γεννᾶται κασσία καὶ δρωμα καὶ μοτῶ καὶ δουλικὰ κρείστονα, δὲ εἰς Αἴγυπτον προχωρεῖ μᾶλλον... (a transit trade, so indicated by the slaves alone).

range of hills having silicious rock and soil and a sufficient rainfall to grow the tree laurel.³⁶ This was merely inference and is not borne out by the Italian explorations. The question could, no doubt, be settled definitely by local examination of the Wadi Darror, which empties on the coast just below Ras-Hafun.

The description of the author of the *Periplus*³⁷ is of the laurel product known to us as cinnamon; he calls it *κασσία* throughout. It could have been brought to Cape Guardafui in the Indian ships he saw there. In describing the exports at the ports of India he uses, not this word, but *μαλάβαθρον* (*tamalapatra*, or leaf of the *tamala* tree, the botanical *Cinnamomum*).³⁸ This *μαλάβαθρον* was one of the most treasured ingredients of ointments in the Roman world, but was much confused with *νάρδος*, a name in which there was also confusion as between the spikenard (*Nardostachys jatamansi*), a tall herbaceous plant of the western Himalayas, and the citronella (*Andropogon nardus*), a near cousin to the lemon grass of Arabia.³⁹ Strabo says in one passage that 'the same tracts produce cassia, cinnamon, and nard.'⁴⁰ A modern description of the essential oil distilled from one of these Indian grasses is that 'its odor recalls cassia and rosemary, but a strong persistent odor of oil of cassia remains.' This recalls Pliny's description of cinnamon as the spice, sweet as a rose but hot on the tongue⁴¹ (which he seems to connect with Guardafui as a product merely transshipped there), and since his day the words, cinnamon and cassia, have been applied exclusively to the tree laurel of India. Before the opening of regular sea trade from India which led in turn to the sudden wealth of the Sabaeans in the second century B. C., there is no proof that this South and East Indian spice reached the world's markets or was meant by the words, cinnamon and cassia. *Cassia* leaves or stripplings is clearly senna in the Babylonian records. Laurel bark is not purgative, but astringent, and does not fit the case at all. In Ezekiel it is uncertain whether senna or lemon grass is meant; the latter, more probably. In the Psalms and Proverbs lemon grass,

³⁶ *JRAS* 1849; 19. 166-191.

³⁷ *Periplus*, 56, 63.

³⁸ Watt, *op. cit.* 311-313.

³⁹ Watt, *op. cit.* 450-462.

⁴⁰ Strabo, 16. 4. 25.

⁴¹ Pliny, *H. N.* 6. 29.

sweet flag or some such fragrant substance is indicated. Cinnamon, things bundled, in Exodus may be the roots of the lemon grass, or the sweet flag; in Babylonian records and elsewhere, the pods of the senna. Cassia itself could be a hollow grass, for Galen translates it as *σῦριγξ* or reed.⁴² Cinnamon, as Herodotus said, was merely another word for cut sticks. It is only by a secondary interpretation that it becomes 'pipe', or that the idea of a pipe is applied to the tender rolled-up bark of the tree laurel. These caravan terms have gone through a course similar to that of the *לְבָנָה*, which began as the blue jasper of Egypt, then became the *σάπφειρος* or lapis lazuli of Media and Badakshan, and finally the sapphire, or blue corundum of Ceylon. The weight of evidence is against any production of laurel cinnamon in 'Panchaia, with its incense-bearing sands';⁴³ and in its bearing on the question of the antiquity of sea trade in the Indian Ocean it may be said that if cinnamon was laurel, it came from India: if it grew in Somaliland, it was not laurel.

The mediaeval Arab geographers are almost as indefinite as their Greek predecessors. Abū'l-Fadl Ja'far, a twelfth-century writer, correctly connects nard (*sunbul*) with lemon-grass (*idhhir*) and speaks of a 'swallows' nard' from India that suggests the birds' nest of Herodotus. Ibn-al-Baitār, whose drug treatise of the thirteenth century contains much useful information, lists cinnamon under *Dar cīnī*, 'Chinese tree' (a curious title if the product had ever originated in Arabian territory) and distinguishes *dar cīnī ad-dun*, *dar sūs* true *Kirfa* (this word being the same as the *Karphea* of Herodotus) and *Kirfat al-Karanful*, 'clove Kirfa'. He mentions still another variety, 'known by its bad odor,' which he calls *zinzibar*, apparently our ginger. Obviously these trading terms cover various botanical species.

We cannot assume critical botanical knowledge among semi-savage peoples. The minute descriptions of fragrant gums suggest that the ancients classified them according to the size, shape, color and clearness of the piece, rather than the botanical orders of the trees that produced them. So, likewise, with the caravan traders who made their painful journey of seventy days along the hot sands of Arabia from Minaea to Aelana (140 shiftings of

⁴² Antid. 1. 14.

⁴³ Vergil, *Georg.* 2. 139.

camel load at the best of it) :⁴⁴ what more probable than that the camel drivers should have the bag and the bundle in mind as the things to be handled, and that these very general terms should have been specifically applied in consequence to the substances which it paid them best to carry? A less crudely physical conception of holiness would perhaps have crowded out the senna first of all; a change from nomadic to agricultural habits would have increased the cultivation of fragrant grasses and brought in new aromatic plants for ceremonial use; and finally the laurel of India, for which the Roman Empire developed a craze and for which it was willing to pay any fabulous price asked,⁴⁵ would have appropriated to itself the ancient terms; cinnamon for the bundled bark, cassia for the treasured leaf, and curiously enough, by confusion with the senna pod and the less precious substances classified under the same name, for the woody parts of the *Cinnamomum* rather than the *μαλάβαθρον* or leaf.

We may guard against too specific an interpretation of these early trading terms by remembering the dragon's blood, or *κιννάβαρι*, a term growing likewise out of early animistic beliefs, which was applied by the Greeks and Romans indiscriminately to the gum of the Socotrine dracaena, the red oxide of iron, and the red sulphide of mercury. Pliny tells us of a Roman physician who thought he had prescribed the vegetable product,⁴⁶ but his patient took the Spanish ore and died!

⁴⁴ Cf. Strabo, 16. 4. 25.

⁴⁵ Strabo, 16. 4. 4.

⁴⁶ Pliny, *H. N.* 33. 38; 8. 12.

EVIL-WIT, NO-WIT, AND HONEST-WIT

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THERE IS a well-known story in the first book of the Pañcatantra, which is variously called *Duṣṭabuddhi and Dharmabuddhi*, *Badheart and Goodheart*, or *Duṣṭabuddhi and Abuddhi*, *The Treacherous Man and the Simpleton*.¹ These variations in title are due to an apparent discrepancy between the catch-verse and the prose story. It is the purpose of this paper to explain and remove this apparent discrepancy.

The catch-verse to the fable reads in the *Tantrākhyāyika*² as follows:

*duṣṭabuddhir abuddhiś ca dvāv etāu dhiñmatāu mama
tanayenā 'tipāñḍityāt pitā dhūmena māritah.*

'I hav a very low opinion of both the evil-minded man (Evil-wit) and the fool (No-wit) alike. The son, because he was all too clever, caused his father's deth by smoke.'

I shall consider later the variants of the other versions; for the present let me merely say that there is no dout that T's version, just quoted, is that of the original Pañcatantra in all respects, except that possibly in the third pāda the synonym *putra* may hav occurred insted of *tanaya*, 'son'. There is, at any rate, no dout that the original Pañcatantra did not mention Dharmabuddhi, 'Good-heart' or 'Honest-wit,' in the stanza, and that it did speak of Duṣṭabuddhi and Abuddhi, 'Evil-wit' and 'No-wit', or the evil-minded man and the fool.

The story then begins, virtually in identical language in all

¹ The story is numberd in the several versions as follows (note that after the name of each version I enclose in parenthesis the abbreviation of the name which I shall use in this paper): *Tantrākhyāyika* (T) I. 15; *Southern Pañcatantra* (SP) I. 14; *Nepalese* (N) II. 14; *Textus simplior* (Spl), ed. Kielhorn-Bühler, I. 19; *Pūrṇabhadra* (Pn) I. 26; *Somadeva* (So) I. 11 (*Kathāsaritsāgara*, ed. Durgaprasad and Parab, 60. 211 ff.); *Ksemendra* (Kṣ) I. 14 (*Śivadatta* and Parab, *Brhatkathāmañjarī*, 16. 369 ff.; Mankowski, I. 116 ff.; references are made first to the former, then, in parenthesis, to the latter); *Old Syriac* (Sy) I. 13. The story is not found in the *Hitopadeśa*.

² T vs I. 167. In the other versions the vs occurs: SP I. 141, N II. 114, Spl I. 396, Pn I. 389, Sy I. 101; cf. So 60. 210 (?), Kṣ 16. 368 (I. 115).

Sanskrit versions (except Ks, see below): 'In a certain locality there livd two merchants' sons who wer frends, and their names wer Dusṭabuddhi and Dharmabuddhi (Evil-wit and Honest-wit).' It goes on, also in substantially identical fashion: The two went on a trip together, and Honest-wit found a purse of money, which he shared with his frend. Returning home, they buried most of the money in a secret place, agreeing to take equal amounts as they needed it. Evil-wit stole it all, and then accused his frend of having done so. The case came before the court, and Evil-wit volunteerd to call as witness the *devatā* (spirit) in the tree at the base of which the money was buried. The court adjournd to the next day, when all proceeded to the place in order to take the tree-spirit's testimony. But Evil-wit had hidden his father, in spite of the latter's protest, in the trunk of the tree; and when they put the question 'Who stole the money?', the father, impersonating the tree-spirit, replied 'Honest-wit'. The latter, conscious of innocence, lighted a fire in the hollow trunk of the tree, which soon brot Evil-wit's father tumbling down, half-choked and blinded. The truth of course was thus revealed.

Thruout this story no other name than Dharmabuddhi, 'Honest-wit', is used for the righteous merchant in any Sanskrit recension. Only in the offshoots of the Pahlavi translation is he cald 'the simpleton' (Schulthess, 'der Einfältige'), representing, apparently, the Sanskrit word Abuddhi. But in view of the unanimity of all the Sanskrit versions it can scarcely be doubted that the Pahlavi is secondary, and that the original had in the prose story the name Dharmabuddhi. Evidently the Pahlavi has taken the name Abuddhi from the catch-verse and applied it to the honest merchant in the prose story.

The problem that confronts us is then this. In the original form of the catch-verse are mentiond only two names or epithets—Dusṭabuddhi, 'Evil-wit,' and Abuddhi, 'No-wit.' In the original of the following prose ar likewise mentiond only two names—Dusṭabuddhi, 'Evil-wit,' and Dharma-buddhi, 'Honest-wit.' It has always been assumed—not unnaturally—that we must infer from this the equation Abuddhi = Dharmabuddhi; or in other words, that the person cald 'No-wit' in the verse is cald 'Honest-wit' in the prose.

It seems to me, however, that we should hesitate long before

accepting this equation, for several reasons. In the first place, the literary harshness assumed is such as could hardly be paralleld in the original Pañcatantra. The name Honest-wit would be substituted baldly for No-wit (the righteous man for the simpleton), without a word of motivation or explanation, with nothing to indicate that it is not the simplest and most natural sequence in the world! It almost passes belief that any story-teller could be so slovenly; and the story-teller of the original Pañcatantra was in general anything but slovenly.

In the second place, is there anything in the story to justify calling Dharmabuddhi a 'simpleton'? Hertel (*Tantrākhyāyika*, Translation, p. 51, n. 2) says his dullness consists in the fact that he entertain'd frendly feelings for Duṣṭabuddhi and divided his find with him. But a much more prominent place in the story is occupied by the scheme by which Dharmabuddhi exposes the trick playd upon him by Duṣṭabuddhi; and in this incident Dharmabuddhi shows markt cleverness. It seems *a priori* unlikely that a person capable of such shrewdness would be cald a 'fool.'

These considerations suggest that perhaps all previous interpreters may hav been wrong in assuming the identity of Abuddhi, the 'No-wit' of the catch-verse, with Dharmabuddhi, the 'Honest-wit' of the prose story. There is, in fact, not a single particle of evidence to show that this identity was felt by the author of any Sanskrit recension. More than this: there is clear and decisiv evidence to prove that in *som* Sanskrit recensions, at least, just the opposit was 'tru; it is Duṣṭabuddhi, 'Evil-wit,' whom they consider the 'fool', not Dharmabuddhi, 'Honest-wit.' And this is, when one thinks about it, just what the story clearly means to teach (compare the last paragraf of this article, below). The catch-verse and the prose story ar in perfect agreement on this point, that Evil-wit proves himself a fool and causes the deth of his own father by being too clever and tricky. Let us examin the evidence which shows that certain Sanskrit recensions regard it in this light.

1. In the prose story of all Sanskrit recensions (I use the term 'prose' loosely to include the poetic versions of So and Kṣ, distinguishing thus their versions of the story proper from their versions of the original catch-verse), the name Duṣṭabuddhi, 'Evil-wit,' is always used without variant for the villain except

that *Spl* uses the synonym *Pāpabuddhi* (copied also in *Pn* in one or two places where it follows *Spl*), and except also for *Kṣ*, which is peculiar and highly interesting. *Kṣ* 368 (115) reproduces the original catch-verse thus:

*abuddhiyogād adhamāḥ sarvadā vipadāspadam
pitā dhūmena nihataḥ sutenā 'dharmabuddhinā.*

‘Because of their folly (no-wit) the base ar always subject to disasters. The Dishonest-witted (*a-dharma-buddhi*) son kild his father with smoke.’—In the following story, representing the original prose, *Kṣ* begins with the statement: ‘There wer once two frends, Honest-wit (Dharmabuddhi) and No-wit (Abuddhi).’ The name of the villain occurs later on five times more—twice as *Abuddhi*, ‘No-wit,’ twice as *Duṣṭabuddhi*, ‘Evil-wit,’ and once as *Durbuddhi*, a synonym for the latter. It certainly needs no argument to show that *Kṣ* thot of *Abuddhi* as a synonym, not of *Dharmabuddhi*, but of *Duṣṭabuddhi*.

2. The variants of the catch-verse, quoted abov in its *T* form, in other Sanskrit recensions, show that they too had the same understanding. The Jain versions (*Pn* and *Spl*) read for the first half of the catch verse: *dharmabuddhir abuddhiś* (*Spl* *kubuddhiś*) *ca dvāv etāu vidiṭāu mama.* (It is noteworthy that one manuscript of *T* reads just as *Pn* does in the first *pāda*.) It is obvious that to these versions also *Abuddhi* is the same as *Duṣṭabuddhi*. In *SP* we find: *duṣṭabuddhir dharmabuddhir dvāv etāu vanigātmajāu.* So the edition; but several of the best mss. (recension *a*) either agree absolutely with *T* or point in that direction; and *N* agrees with *T*. This is sufficient to prove that *T*’s reading was that of the tru and original *SP* text, and of the original *Pañc*. However, the readings of the secondary *SP* mss. and of the edited text ar interesting as showing that the writers of these codices or their archetype felt averse to a reading which *seemd* to identify *Abuddhi* with *Dharmabuddhi*, the sim-*pleton* with the honest man, when the clear intention of the story is inconsistent therewith.

My explanation is that the original catch-verse red like *T*, but that *Abuddhi*, ‘No-wit,’ was not intended to refer to *Dharmabuddhi*, ‘Honest-wit,’ in the following story. On the contrary, the meaning of the catch-verse is that *Duṣṭabuddhi*, ‘Evil-wit,’ is just as bad as (any, indefinit) *Abuddhi*, ‘No-wit;’ in short, that ‘honesty is the best policy.’ The catch-verse says: ‘I hav just as

low an opinion of Evil-wit as of No-wit; one is as bad as the other. And to prove it, I refer you to the case of Evil-wit who caused his father's deth by his excess of cunning, thereby showing himself no better than a fool, or a No-wit.'

This is the only explanation that does justis to the point of the story and avoids the unendurable harshness of naming a caracter in the catch-verse by a name wholly inconsistent with the name he bears in the actual story. The variations of the several recensions ar due to their failure to see the point of the term *Abuddhi*, 'No-wit,' in the catch-verse. They all, except Pahlavi, support my contention that Honest-wit cannot hav been identified with No-wit; and Pahlavi is proved to be secondary by the fact that all Sanskrit recensions, without exception, ar unanymous in using the term *Dharmabuddhi* in the prose story for the caracter which Pahlavi calls 'the simpleton'. This confusion of Pahlavi is explaind by the same misunderstanding which was found, with different results, in various of the Sanskrit recensions.

The location of the fable in the frame story of Pañc. Book I shows that 'honesty is the best policy' is what it intends to teach. It is told by the jackal Karaṭaka to warn the evil-minded and trecherous Damanaka of the fate that is in store for him if he follows in the course he has begun. Damanaka is the prototype of *Duṣṭabuddhi*, 'Evil-wit,' and Karaṭaka, the teller of the story, means to let him see that evil-mindedness is really folly and brings one to disaster. To represent *Dharmabuddhi*, 'Honest-wit,' as foolish would spoil the moral that is obviously intended.

THE TOWER OF BABEL

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EVER SINCE it became definitely known that the great and imposing ruins of Birs Nimrud were remnants of the ziqqurrat of Borsippa, the view that they represented the Tower of Babel has been abandoned by most scholars. This view, according to Koldewey, the excavator of ancient Babylon, was tenable only so long as Oppert's fantastic ideas as to the extent of the city found credence. It is now held as almost certain that Marduk's famous Temple Esagila, with its ziqqurrat E-temen-an-ki, is the structure referred to in Gen. 11.¹ It seems to me however that the ancient and traditional identification of the 'tower of Babel' with the site of Birs Nimrud must be revived.

It is plainly the intention of Gen. 11. 1-9 to tell that Yahweh hindered the builders of the tower, so that they could not complete their work. For only to the temple with its tower and not to the residential sections can the statement in v. 8, 'They had to stop building the city' apply. Since the temple of an ancient city was its real heart and centre this synecdoche is not surprising. Furthermore a cessation of 'building the city' would not become very easily the part of a story if referring to the residential part, but a great temple tower that had remained a torso or had fallen into decay would stimulate the imagination profoundly. To this Birs Nimrud bears ample testimony, for the travellers of all times have been deeply stirred by the sight of its vast ruins. The story of Gen. 11, then, clearly arose and circulated at a time when the tower referred to had been a torso for a considerable period.

¹Cf. Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, 1913, and *Die Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa*, 1911. The long lost tablet describing Esagila in its final grandeur has been rediscovered and published by Scheil in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, vol. 39 (1913), p. 293 f. But the famous Bel-Temple described by Herodotus does not seem to have been the one at Babylon, which was no longer standing in the days of the Greek author, but rather the temple of Borsippa. Cf. Delitzsch in *Festschrift für Eduard Sachau*, 1915, p. 97 f.

Now the J source from which Gen. 11. 1-9 is taken seems to have originated at the time of Solomon, 970-932 B. C.² If this dating may be regarded as fairly secure we must suppose that the story of the tower of Babel is an 11th century story and that the tower at this time had the incomplete or dilapidated appearance therein described.

Unfortunately our knowledge of the history of the temples of Babylon and Borsippa is very meagre. We may here well omit the references to them in very early times. Suffice it to say they had their ups and downs, as the so-called Kedorlaomer texts show, which speak of the pillage of Ezida and Esagila by the hostile Elamite.³ During the period of the Cassite rule, lasting over 500 years, Babylonia seems to have enjoyed prosperity and no doubt the temples were well taken care of. King⁴ has recently called attention to a boundary stone of Merodach Baladan I (1201-1181), one of the last rulers of the Cassite dynasty, on which appears the symbol of the god Nabū (the stylus) supported by a horned dragon set off against a four-stage tower, which can be none other than the ziqqurrat of Borsippa, E-ur-imin-an-ki. At this period, then, 'the house of the seven stages of heaven and earth' was only a four story structure, but we may assume that it was in good condition and had been well cared for by the king. The fall of the Cassite Dynasty, 1150 B. C., brought a repetition of the conditions that had existed before Hammurapi—invasion by the Elamites. We learn that the statue of Marduk was even carried off by them from Esagila, but there is no record of how they dealt with the temples. Under Nebuchadrezzar I, however, a few years later, Babylon recovered the Marduk statue and regained its independence. Among the following kings many bear names compounded with Marduk, and were no doubt zealous in providing for this god's shrine. But the unsettled conditions of the period, the disturbance caused by the Aramaean migration and by the rise of the Assyrian power in the north do not argue for an age of prosperity in Babylon, and only in prosperous days

² Procksch, *Die Genesis*, 1912, p. 17.

³ Re-edited by Jeremias in *Festschrift für Hommel*. Cf. also *Das Alte Testament*, 1916, p. 280 f. Esarhaddon began to rebuild Esagila and the operations were continued by Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin; cf. Streck, *Ashurbanipal II*, 1916, p. 146, p. 246 f., etc.

⁴ *History of Babylon*, p. 79.

are building operations carried on extensively by kings. But the ziqqurrat of Babylon seems to have been standing, for when Sennacherib (705-681), the conqueror of Babylon, entered the city he devastated the temple, tore down the ziqqurrat, and threw it into the Arahtu canal.⁵

The ziqqurrat of Borsippa however seems also to have experienced a destruction, and perhaps at an earlier time. Of especial importance in this connection is the inscription of Nebuchadrezzar's cylinder.⁶ 'At that time E-ur-imin-an-ki, the ziqqurrat of Barsip which a previous king had made—42 cubits he had elevated it, not had he raised its head, from a distant day it had collapsed, not were in order the outlets of its water, rain and storm had removed its bricks, the bricks of its covering were split open, the bricks of its body were heaped up like a ruin mound—Marduk, my lord, aroused my heart to construct it.' Now it must be emphasized that the activity of the previous king referred to was also one of restoration, since the temple tower was only elevated 42 cubits.⁷ The four-stage tower of the days of Merodach Baladan I was much higher! The necessary conclusion therefore is that this older temple had been destroyed or had fallen into ruin, and that later on a king, who ruled a long time before Nebuchadrezzar, had begun its restoration. The partially restored ziqqurrat had also in the course of time fallen into ruins. This obviously compels us to seek a much earlier date for the destruction of the temple than that of Sennacherib. In fact the attempt at restoration may antedate this king and is perhaps to be accredited to Merodach Baladan II (721-710) who calls himself 'the worshipper of Nebo and Marduk, the gods of Esagila and Ezida, who provided abundantly for their gates and made shining all their temples, renewed all their sanctuaries.'⁸

⁵ Bavian Inscription, III R 14, l. 51.

⁶ Langdon, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, 1912, p. 98 f.; cf. also p. 114.

⁷ Cf. with this the statement in Langdon, p. 60 (Col I. 44 f.) that Nabopolassar raised the ziqqurrat of Babylon 30 cubits. In both cases it does not seem clear whether this means from the *base up*. Thirty cubits is not even the height of the lowest stage of Nebuchadrezzar's Tower. Furthermore Rawlinson claims to have found the three copies of the cylinder above quoted on the corners of the third stage of E-ur-imin-an-ki, indicating that here the work of Nebuchadrezzar began.—He figured about 8 metres to every stage; cf. *JRAS* 18, pp. 1-34, on the excavations.

⁸ Cf. the Black Stone Inscription.

It seems most likely that immediately after the fall of the Cassite dynasty Ezida and E-ur-imin-an-ki, whether by violence or by neglect, fell into ruins. It seems to have a peculiar significance that the Assyrians in the 9th century founded another temple by the name of Ezida at Nineveh and adopted to a very great extent the worship of the god Nabū.⁹ If the shrine at Borsippa had been flourishing in those days such action would not have been very likely. Thus while the continuity of the temple of Babylon seems to be assured to the time of Sennacherib, there is ground for supposing that that of Borsippa fell into ruin right after the Cassite era, in other words at the time of the rise of the Hebrew kingdom in Palestine when the Jahvist lived.

But an additional argument from the mythological point of view speaks most emphatically for the tower of Borsippa. In the 137th Fable of Hyginus we are told that ages ago mankind spoke only one language. But after Mercury had multiplied the languages and divided the nations, strife began to arise among them. Zeus was angered at Mercury's act but could not change it.¹⁰ The tradition presupposed in this fable seems to have no other analogy in Graeco-Roman legend. And if we recall that Mercury is the equivalent of the Oriental Nabū we must immediately ask ourselves whether this is not an eastern myth that was imported with so much other Asiatic lore in the Hellenistic era. The god Nabū is the author of written language—the cryptic signs that seem so wonderful to the uninitiated; the art of writing is once called 'the mother of language and the father of wisdom.'¹¹ Equally mysterious, however, must have seemed the sound of foreign tongues. Who else could be their originator in a Babylonian speculative system than the god Nabū? True, we have no direct testimonial to this in the inscriptions. But if Gen. 11 originated in Babylonia—and of this there can be no doubt—then Yahweh has assumed in the present version the role of some Babylonian deity, and this deity by every argument of analogy and probability can only have been Nabū. We should expect the story of the dispersion of tongues to be centered at Nabū's shrine in Borsippa, rather than at Marduk's sanctuary in Babylon.

⁹ Cf. Streck, *op. cit.* 2, 272 f. Shamash-shum-ukin, Stele Inscr. S¹ l. 13 f., says that he renewed the walls of Ezida which had grown old and weak under a former king.

¹⁰ Cf. Jeremias in Roscher's *Lexicon* 3. 56.

The motif of the deity's prevention of the completion of the tower can however be no integral part of the official cult story of Ezida. This element was added at a time when Ezida and its ziqqurrat were greatly neglected. One might be inclined to assign this motif entirely to the imagination of that early Hebrew story-teller who saw in the scene of ruin Yahweh's verdict upon the self-aggrandizement of the people of Babylonia. Yet it also seems possible that the idea of the jealous deity, that is afraid of men's prowess and intervenes in order to defeat their attempt to overthrow him by destroying the ladder on which they seek to climb into heaven, shimmers through the story. The descent of the deity for punitive purposes (v. 7) finds an analogy also in a passage of the so-called Kedorlaomer texts: 'If the king does not speak righteousness, inclines toward wickedness, then his shêdu will descend from Esharra, the temple of all the gods.'¹¹ It may well be therefore that this element goes back to a pre-Hebraic stage. Gunkel's view that the story was heard from Aramaean Beduin on the Babylonian border¹² may not be very far from the truth. The point of view certainly cannot be that of the native Babylonian citizen. Perhaps an ancient Hebrew forerunner of Herodotus who visited Babylonia as tradesman and came into contact with the roving Chaldaean Aramaeans brought back the story to Palestine as he heard it from the lips of these nomads somewhere near the great ruins of Birs Nimrud.

A third stage, however, in the development of the story is assuredly Palestinean—that is its attraction away from Borsippa to Babel. Naturally a traveller would relate it in connection with his visit to the metropolis since the name of Borsippa was too obscure and unimportant for his hearers. And since 'Babel' lent itself so excellently to a pun with *bālal* 'to confuse', the original reference to Nabū's temple was lost. Gunkel has seen that the emphasis on the root *pūq*, 'to scatter,' thrice repeated, prepared the way for another etymology which has been obliterated—that of the temple or ziqqurrat.¹³ His own suggestion of an appellation like '*piçū*' (the 'white' tower) is of no value, for

¹¹ Cf. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament*, p. 180.

¹² Gunkel, *Die Genesis*, *ad loc.*

¹³ Gunkel divides the story into two sources—a city version and a tower version; so also Procksch, who however maintains that the story is a unity in its present form because of the excellent metre.

the towers were many-colored. In seeking the original name we must remember that the key form for the etymology is always the last one used—here *hefiqām* (v. 9). There is no other Babylonian temple name so nearly like this as E-zi-da, especially if we recall that Sumerian E (house) appears as *hē* in Hebrew (cp. *hēkal* = *êkallu*). The form *Hēzida* is the most likely representation of the name in Hebrew. An identity of all consonants is not necessary; cp. ‘*Ēšāw* = *sē’ār*, Gen. 25. 25, etc., where a mere vocalic correspondence was found sufficient.¹⁴ In view of all the other material we have presented it seems certain that this name once stood in the text. That the pun is made with the name of the temple Ezida, rather than with the tower E-ur-imin-an-ki, presents no difficulty since even in the Babylonian texts the latter is only rarely mentioned. The shorter and more familiar name of the greater complex of the temple was more likely to be perpetuated.

Originally a cult story of Ezida, then a popular Aramaean legend, then a Babylonian reminiscence of a Hebrew traveller, and eventually a vehicle of deep religious and philosophical thought—such is the evolution of Gen. 11. 1-9. Surely a fascinating bit of history down whose vistas we here can glance.

¹⁴ A much worse pun on the name of Ezida with Uza occurs in a Babylonian text, cf. King's *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, 1. 209 ff. Rev. 7, and Jeremias, *Altorientalische Geisteskultur*, 1913, p. 30 note. It seems likely however that the Hebrews heard a corrupt form of the name, else a pun with *zid* ‘arrogance’ would have been more attractive.

BRIEF NOTES

The First Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

This expedition was intended to be a preliminary reconnoissance of the needs and opportunities for field research in the Near East since the changes resulting from the great war; but it was also hoped that many opportunities for the purchase of antiquities and historical documents of the ancient Orient might present themselves. These aims were in the main fulfilled. After attending the important joint meeting of the *Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Société Asiatique*, and the *American Oriental Society* in London early in September, 1919, Professor Breasted proceeded to Paris where he purchased a valuable collection of Oriental antiquities, chiefly Egyptian, including especially a finely illuminated hieratic papyrus of the Book of the Dead.

The remainder of the trip to Egypt via Venice was beset with many difficulties, but Dr. Breasted reached Cairo by the end of October, having fallen in with Professor Clay of Yale on the way. A few weeks' work in the Cairo museum viewing the many new accessions there, included a study of the new Cairo fragments of the so-called Palermo Stone, which disclosed the existence of a new dynasty, or group of at least ten kings of united Egypt who ruled *before Menes*, that is *before the beginning of the usually recognized dynastic period*. Extensive purchases of antiquities in the hands of dealers were also made, and a trip up the river as far as Luxor extended these purchases to Upper Egypt. This brief notice does not permit the mention even of the leading items of these large accessions. An interesting feature of the work in Egypt was an airplane trip along the pyramid cemeteries on the margin of the Sahara for sixty miles, on which Professor Breasted was able to make a series of airplane views of these great tomb groups, with the especial purpose of locating prehistoric cemeteries which might show up in the negatives, though not visible on the ground. This opportunity was available through the kind offices of Lord Allenby, who is much interested in archaeological research. The members of the expedition assembled in Cairo and Upper Egypt dur-

ing December, 1919, and January, 1920, and some of them pushed up the Nile as far as the First Cataract. Early in February, all five of the men belonging to the expedition were in Cairo ready to leave for Asia. They included Prof. D. D. Luckenbill, Ludlow S. Bull and William F. Edgerton, both fellows of the University of Chicago, and Prof. A. W. Shelton of Emery University, besides the director, Professor Breasted.

The party sailed from Port Said on Feb. 18th, 1920, and after transshipment in Bombay arrived in Basrah on March 9. Every facility was afforded the expedition by the British authorities, and by March 16 the party was ready to leave Basrah for a rapid survey of the leading sites in Babylonia. The Basrah-Baghdad railway line had been completed and opened only a few weeks before and the party was thus the first archaeological expedition to make the Basrah-Baghdad trip with the use of this line, which greatly facilitated the journey. The first stop was at Ur, now called 'Ur Junction' (!), whence the party visited the ruins of Ur and Eridu, using Ford vans furnished by the British Army, and proceeded also via Nasiriyah up the Shatt el-Hai some eighty miles as far as Kal'at es-Sikkar. From this point Tell Yokha was visited, besides a number of unidentified sites of which there are many on both sides of the Shatt el-Hai, especially above Kal'at es-Sikkar on the east side of the Shatt. Returning to the railway at Ur Junction the trip up the Euphrates to Baghdad was made by rail, stopping at all the well-known sites, especially Babylon, left precisely as last worked by the Germans under Koldewey.

The Tigris trip was likewise made by rail as far Kal'at Shergat (the spellings are those of the new British survey), that is some eighty miles below Mosul and Nineveh. All the leading sites as far as Khorsabad were visited and studied. While there had been more than one dangerous corner of Babylonia through which the expedition passed, it was on the Tigris journey that the most hazardous situations were first experienced. On arriving at Shergat on the return trip the railway was cut by the Arabs and also broken in two other places by a heavy storm.

On the return to Baghdad the Civil Commissioner, Col. A. T. Wilson, the British Governor General of Mesopotamia, asked the expedition to proceed up the Euphrates to Salihiyah, some 300 miles above Baghdad, in order to record and rescue as far as

possible some extraordinary Roman paintings disclosed by the excavation of a rifle pit. The British authorities civil and military furnished the transportation, seven automobiles, and leaving Baghdad on April 29th, the expedition reached the vast Roman fortress of Salihiyah on the right bank of the Euphrates on May 4th. The paintings, which proved to be of unusual interest, were duly photographed and as carefully studied as the time would permit, and on the morning of May 5th, the expedition shifted to five Turkish arabanahs or native wagons, and entering the Arab State threw themselves upon the protection of the local officials of King Faisal. Moving up the right bank of the Euphrates through Dêr ez-Zôr and past the mouths of the Khabur and the Balikh, the expedition reached Aleppo in safety on the fifth of May, 1920, being the first group of non-Moslems to cross the Arab State since its proclamation in March, of the same year. Although the expedition passed directly over the fighting ground between Arabs and British, it met with the friendliest reception from all the sheikhs, and learned much of the present situation in King Faisal's dominions. The occasion which made it possible for an American expedition to take the risk, however, was not only the friendly feeling of the Arabs toward Americans. It was likewise the fact that the British had just drawn in their front on the Euphrates about a hundred miles down river from Salihiyah to a point just above Anah. As a result the Arabs were momentarily feeling in the best of humors, during which the American party managed to slip through in safety. The chief danger for the time was from brigands.

As there was imminent danger that the railway south of Aleppo would be cut by the Arabs in order to hamper the French, the expedition made haste southward, stopping only at Tell Nebi Mindoh, the ancient Kadesh of Ramses II's famous battle. A careful reconnaissance of this place was made, and after a visit at Baalbek the expedition hurried out of the hazardous regions of inner Syria and made its headquarters at Beyrut, whence the leading sites along the ancient Phoenician coast were inspected. After a brief visit to Damascus and two conferences with King Faisal, the expedition shifted to Palestine, but here, just as in Syria, conditions were too disturbed to permit much work. The Plain of Megiddo, where the party endeavored in

vain to reach Tell el-Mutesellim, was quite unsafe, and even Jericho was inaccessible from Jerusalem.

The conditions as to available labor for excavation, the times of year when such work would least disturb the demand for agricultural labor, the varying scale of wages, especially the increase in wages resulting from war conditions, available vacant land for disposal of dump,—all these local questions conditioning excavations were examined at most of the leading sites in Western Asia except in Asia Minor, where the rebellion of Mustafa Kamal Pasha made the country quite inaccessible. At the same time the legal conditions and the regulations of government to which such work would be subject were taken up with the French and British authorities. A valuable collection of cuneiform documents and works of art was obtained in Western Asia also, besides a group of some 250 Cappadocian tablets purchased in Cairo.

Dr. Luckenbill remained in Beirut to develop the large series of negatives taken by the expedition in Western Asia, while the rest of the party returned to Cairo, especially to look after the shipment of purchases to America. On hearing of the facts observed by the expedition in Asia Lord Allenby requested Professor Breasted to change his route and to return to America via London in order to report in person to Premier Lloyd-George and to the Foreign Minister, Earl Curzon. Professor Breasted therefore left for London in June with letters from Lord Allenby to the two ministers and reported as desired. The antiquities secured have since arrived safely in America, but it will be long before they can be properly installed and exhibited.

JAMES H. BREASTED

University of Chicago
September 10, 1920

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The following have been added to the Committee on Enlargement of Membership: President Talcott Williams, Dr. J. E. Abbott, Professors F. R. Blake, A. V. W. Jackson.

On page 221 of the last (June) number of this volume (40) of the JOURNAL, in the report of the Proceedings at Ithaca, the paper on 'Notes on Criticism of Inscriptions: I, The Behistan

Inscription of Darius the Great' was erroneously attributed to Professor M. Jastrow of the University of Pennsylvania. The paper was by Professor R. G. Kent of the University of Pennsylvania. The copy red correctly, and was correctly set; the galley proof was correct; but by som strange accident the change was made in the printers' offis after galley proof, and the error was overlookt in page proof. The editors and the printers both deeply regret the annoying mistake, and tender their apologies to Professor Kent.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

Dr. Louis H. Gray, as delegate of the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies, has presented a report on the transactions of the meeting of the Union Académique Internationale, held in Brussels, May 26-28, 1920. The following is a summary of the more important points in the report.

Since the first session of the Union at Paris, the academies of Rumania, Portugal, Serbia, and Norway have adhered to the Union.

The Union approved in principle several scholarly projects to be undertaken under its auspices. Among these were (1) a revision of Du Cange, (2) an edition of the works of Grotius, (3) a catalog of Greek alchemic manuscripts, (4) a corpus of Attic vases.

It proved impracticable to obtain a fixt date for the meetings of the Union, as the American delegate had been instructed to propose. Regarding the American proposals dealing with the *CIL* and *CIG*, the delegate reports that 'there is, on the one hand, no desire to take over enterprises of international scholarly importance from countries not represented in the Union; but, on the other hand, there is still less feeling that it would be possible to collaborate with the countries in question.'

The American Delegate suggests that serious efforts be made to secure funds to support the extraordinary budget of the Union's secretariat, as for instance by levying a small additional tax on the members of the component societies. He also suggests that in the future the American delegates be chosen from scholars proceeding from America to Europe during the period between the sessions of the American Council and those of the Union, and that

if possible they should be persons who have been personally present at the sessions of the American Council, in order that they may be directly acquainted with the discussions which have taken place of projects to be presented to the Union.

The Pontificio Istituto Biblico in Rome has published the first three parts of its new journal *Biblica* (1920, pp. 1-428), bearing on Bible studies. While the editorial tongue is Latin the various articles appear not only in that language but also in Italian, French, Spanish, English, German. To the leading articles a Latin summary is prefixed. A full and admirably arranged bibliography is part of the contents, along with personal notes and correspondence. *Biblica* is received in exchange by the Library of this Society. The same Institute also announces the publication of a series entitled *Orientalia*, i. e. 'commentarii de rebus assyro-babylonicis, arabicis, aegyptiacis et id genus aliis.' The first fascicle announced will contain articles by A. Deimel.

La Service des Antiquités et des Beaux Arts de la haute Commission de la Rép. Française en Syrie (Beyrouth) announces the publication of a new archaeological series under the title *Syria*. This will be received in exchange by our Library.

The Société des Études Arméniennes has been established in Paris for the promotion of researches and publications relating to Armenia. It will publish the *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, the first fascicle of which is to appear this year. The Administrateur-Archiviste is Prof. F. Macler, 3 Rue Cunin-Gridaine, Paris.

The Société Ernest Renan was organized at its first general meeting on December 18, 1919. The Society 'a pour objet de remettre en lumière la tradition française dans le domaine de l'histoire et de la philosophie religieuses, d'en montrer la continuité et la richesse.' It will publish a bimensual Bulletin and has commissioned the preparation of a new edition of Astruc's *Conjectures sur la Genèse* and of a bibliography of Renan. The Secrétaire général is M. Paul Alphandéry, 104 rue de la Faisanderie, Paris, XVI, France.

Of the last year's staff at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem Professors Worrell and Peters returned home in July, Professor Clay in September. Dr. Albright has become Acting Director of the School and will be assisted by the Fellow, Dr. C. C. McCown.

The British School of Archaeology in Palestine was formally opened on August 9, with addresses by the High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, Père Lagrange, Professor Garstang and Dr. Albright. Dr. Garstang has begun excavating Ashkelon in behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund. A committee including representatives of the Schools of Archaeology and the various nationalities has been appointed by the High Commissioner to assist in drafting a law of antiquities.

Of the last year's staff at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, Professors Worrell and Peters returned home in July, Professor Clay in September. Dr. Albright has become Acting Director of the School and will be assisted by the Fellow, Dr. C. C. McCoun.

PERSONALIA

Rabbi ELI MAYER, of Albany, died July 29. He became a member of the Society this year.

Professor FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH has announced his retirement from his professorship at the University of Berlin.

Mr. BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, of Philadelphia, a Life Member of this Society and a founder of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, died August 30, at the age of 84 years.

Prof. FRIEDRICH SCHWALLY, of the University of Königsberg, died February 6, 1919.

A private communication announces that Prof. WILHELM BOUSSET, of the University of Göttingen, died this year.

Prof. CAMDEN M. COBERN, of Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., a member of this Society, died May 3.

THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF INSCRIPTIONS

ROLAND G. KENT

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

1. SCHOLARS ARE NOW well equipped with treatises upon the corruptions which are found in manuscripts, and upon the manner in which editors must proceed as they make up a corrected text. We may mention, in this connection, the following selected authorities, most of which contain references to earlier works:

James Gow, *A Companion to School Classics*, 47-66 (1891).

W. M. Lindsay, *An Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation based on the Text of Plautus* (1896).

Harold W. Johnston, *Latin Manuscripts*, 79-99 (1897).

F. W. Shipley, *Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts: a study based upon two manuscripts of Livy: Codex Puteanus (fifth century), and its copy Codex Reginensis 762 (ninth century)*, in *Amer. Journ. Archaeology*, 7. 1-25, 157-197, 405-428 (1903).

2. Well adapted as these are for their purpose, which is to acquaint the scholar with the 'rules of the game' in the criticism and the emendation of manuscript texts, as he edits or elucidates them, they do not so well serve for the handling of inscriptional texts. For the manuscripts may be the results of one copying after another, each new copy suffering perhaps additional corruption at points which are already corrupt; but an inscription is in-practically all instances merely transferred from a manuscript draft to its permanent position on stone or bronze, and therefore less subject to complicated corruption. At the same time, the speed with which a copyist transcribes with pen upon paper or upon parchment, is a factor leading likewise to greater error than the slowness with which the engraver transfers his text, letter by letter (not word by word), to its place of permanent record. On the other hand, the inscription may be copied in an alphabet differing from that in which the original draft stands, and this will produce a series of corruptions to which manuscript copies rarely afford parallels, except that we may compare the manner in which Greek words in Latin texts have been miscopied by the

scribes; or unless we include within our field the manuscripts of India and of the Avesta.

3. For these reasons, it is my intention to examine critically the accepted or suspected errors in certain inscriptions of formal character, which should be written with a considerable degree of care, and should therefore not contain many errors of a haphazard nature, in order to determine precisely the kinds of errors which actually do occur in inscriptions. The results and the principles thereby reached, even if not revolutionary, will be a firm basis on which philologists may found their utilization of the linguistic evidence furnished by inscriptional forms—evidence which, for ancient languages, has no rival for validity excepting only the remarks of contemporary writers upon points of grammar and pronunciation.

4. Variations from an original copy may be classified in several ways. Johnston (pp. 80 ff.) prefers a scheme based chiefly upon the causes: (1) Unavoidable changes; (2) Intentional changes; (3) Accidental changes, including (a) those of the ear, (b) those of the eye, (c) those of the memory, (d) those of the judgment. Lindsay (p. 10) groups them mainly by their results: (1) Emendation, (2) Transposition, (3) Omission, (4) Insertion, (5) Substitution, (6) Confusion of Letters, (7) Confusion of Contractions. Neither of these classifications, however, is free from its disadvantages, since the divisions and subdivisions prove not to be mutually exclusive in practice; and for dealing with inscriptions, where the corruptions are not of such complicated nature as those in manuscripts, it seems better to revert to the old and simple classification of (1) Loss, (2) Addition, (3) Change, with subdivisions which will be developed as met with.

5. It must be understood that it is not within the province of the present investigation to include phenomena which rest upon a conventionalized orthography or upon confusion in pronunciation. In Latin inscriptions of the older period, the failure to double the consonants in writing would not here be handled, since that is a convention of the alphabet in use; but a doubling of a consonant which should not be doubled would be taken into account. Similarly, in a Latin inscription of the later period, the variation between *e* and *ae* results from confusion in the pronunciation, and is valuable as evidence for the pronunciation of

the time; it is not the purpose here to deal with such matters. The editor of a text must, it is true, eliminate such corruptions as well as the grosser errors (e. g., *Plaut. Epid.* 231 *crutulam* BJ, for *crocotulam*, found in A); but errors or orthographic variations which rest merely upon conventions in spelling and confusion in the sounds, must in inscriptions be left as precious evidence for the student of philology. Our purpose is, then, to prepare the text of certain inscriptions in such a way that the philologist may use it with confidence in reconstructing the history of the language; and to fix the rules and principles for handling other inscriptions.

6. Again, we are not to deal with restorations of missing characters, which, so far as no traces remain, are entirely conjectural; nor may we accept such conjectures in poorly preserved portions and then seek to find errors in the few characters which are to be read; such a procedure would be quite unscientific. Our attention is to be directed to those words and characters which are legible, and our field overlaps that of conjectural restoration only when characters are preserved in part, so that they may be read in more than one way; in this situation we can hardly draw a definite line of demarcation between restoration and textual criticism.

7. For this purpose the following inscriptions have been selected:

I. Old Persian: the Inscription of Darius the Great, at Behistan.

II. Greek: the Bronze Tablets with the treaties between Nau-pactus and the Hypocnemidian Locrians, and between the Oean-theans and the Chaleians.

III. Oscan: the *Tabula Bantina*.

IV. Umbrian: the Bronze Tables of Iguvium.

V. Latin: the preamble to the Edict of Diocletian fixing maximum prices.

I. *The Behistan Inscription of Darius the Great.*

8. The Inscription of Darius the Great, cut high up on the face of the cliff at Behistan in Western Persia, records the accession of Darius to the throne of Persia and his successful suppression of a number of revolts against his power. It is engraved in a cuneiform syllabary, the conventions of which are well determined and familiar to scholars (cf., for example, E. L.

Johnson, *Historical Grammar of the Ancient Persian Language*, 29-35; also R. G. Kent, *JAOS* 35. 325-329, 332, on special points). The text is presented in the cuneiform syllabary, with transliteration, translation, and critical annotations, by L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, *The Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistûn in Persia*, 1-91 (1907), a publication of the British Museum embodying the results of their reexamination of the rock and its inscription; this is the definitive text. A transliteration and translation, with critical notes and vocabulary, is contained in H. C. Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts* (1908); and the same scholar's *Cuneiform Supplement* (1910) contains an autographed copy of the text in the cuneiform, and as an appendix E. L. Johnson's *Index Verborum to the Old Persian Inscriptions*, which is a complete word concordance: these two volumes are Nos. VI and VII in the *Vanderbilt Oriental Series*. These will be referred to hereafter by easily recognizable abbreviations.

9. The most striking feature of the inscription is the extreme care with which it is engraved, demonstrable errors being very few, now that the text has been definitively recorded by KT. But this care is not to be wondered at; for without it the record would have become a hodge-podge, since 23 of the 36 characters of the syllabary are transformable into other characters by the addition or the subtraction of a single stroke, and eleven of the remaining thirteen are convertible by subtracting one stroke and adding another—in some cases this being merely a placing of the same stroke in a new position. Besides this, King Darius attached a high value to the records, as is evident from his injunctions for their preservation in 4. 69-80, and must have placed the work in charge of his most skilled engravers.

10. There are a few points which lie on the border-line between orthographic convention and epigraphic error. It is a convention that an absolutely final short *a* be written with the sign of length, and that final *i* or *u* be followed by the corresponding semivowel. But when an enclitic follows, the *a* or *y^a* or *v^a*, respectively, may be omitted; the examples are listed in *Stud. §13, §8, §7* (= R. G. Kent, *Studies in the Old Persian Inscriptions*, in *JAOS* 35. 321-352); and the same variation occurs in the final sound of the prior element of compounds. Further, there are a few instances where the *a* is not written to show the graphic length of the final *a*, but the instances are chiefly where

the word forms a unit with the following: e. g., the genitive of a month name in *-ahya* before *māhyā* 'month' and the genitive of a personal name before *puθ'a* 'son' and sometimes before *taumāyā* 'family'. Other examples of this phenomenon must be regarded as errors (*Stud.* 329 ftn.).

11. After the characters with inherent *i* (*j̄i d̄i m̄i v̄i*) or *u* (*k̄u ḡu t̄u d̄u n̄u m̄u r̄u*), it is a convention to repeat the vowel as a separate character; doubtless because after other consonants, where for want of the special character the sign with inherent *a* was written, the *i* or *u* was of necessity represented separately. But sometimes after the signs with inherent *i* or *u* the separate vowel sign was omitted, though not so often as it was inserted. The examples of omission of *i* are the following:

arm̄niyaiy (*ar̄m̄in̄i yaiȳa*) 2. 33-34, 39, 44, 48; but *arminiya* 2. 29, 3. 78-79, 4. 29, *arminiyaiy* 2. 59, 63, *armina* 1. 15, *arminam* 2. 30, 32, 50, 52 (all these with *ar̄m̄in̄a*). Some of these examples are mutilated, but they can be read with sufficient accuracy to determine the presence or absence of the *i*.
v̄θam 1. 69, 71; *v̄θāp̄atiy* 3. 26 (and restored in 2. 16); *v̄θi[yā]* 4. 66 (always *v̄θa-* in the Behistan Inscription).

v̄θib̄iš̄ac̄a 1. 65; the normalized spelling is not entirely certain. *v̄št̄asp̄a* 1. 4, 2. 93, 94, 97, 3. 4, 7, A. 5; *v̄št̄asp̄am* 3. 2, 3; *v̄št̄aspahya* 1. 2-3, 4, A. 3, 5-6 (always *v̄š̄t̄aš̄p̄a-* on the Behistan Inscription). Some of the examples are mutilated, but the absence of the *i* is always determinable.

12. The omission of *u* after consonants with inherent *u* seems to occur in this inscription only in the name *Nabukudracara*, which appears as *n̄ab̄auk̄d̄ar̄ac̄r̄a* in 1. 78-79, 84, 93, but with the full writing (*-k̄uud̄a-*) in 3. 80-81, 89 (restored), 4. 14, 29-30, D. 3-4, I. 5-6 (*-d̄a-* omitted; see §24, below).

13. The erratic writings after *h̄a* are listed in *Stud.* §24, and need not be discussed here.

14. Finally, we should note that in the Behistan Inscriptions the words are carefully separated by an angled sign with the apex to the left. This sign precedes the word rather than follows it, for where the sense suffers a paragraph break there is a blank on the surface of the rock and the word-divider comes after the blank, just before the initial word of the new paragraph. Since the five columns form a continuous text, the divider does not occur at the end of the first four. The end of the fifth is illegi-

ble; yet the divider probably stood there, for in the short inscriptions labeling the figures of the sculptures, which are complete texts in themselves, it is found at the end of all except two (H and K). Between §3 and §4 of A (line 13), KT give no divider; but Tolman *CS* 43 gives it. We might note that the last stroke of the preceding character, *h^a*, is identical with the divider, and that this may have led to confusion either of the engraver or of the modern copyist.

I. Errors of Omission.

15. 1. 50 *h^ac^aa < d^ar^aśam^a* seems to stand for *h^ac^aa < d^ar^a-ug^aa < d^ar^a)śam^a*, = *hacā draugā darśam*, the omission being due to the repetition in the text of the four identical characters *a < d^ar^a*, so that the engraver passed from the one set to the other with omission of the two intervening characters (cf. *Stud.* §33-§46, especially §44). This species of error may be termed *Haplography with Skipping*.

16. 1. 54-55 *aur^a/m^az^aam^a* for *aur^a/m^az^ad^aam^a* = *Auramaz-dām*, with omission of *d^a*. The omission was made easy by the fact that *d^a* is formed of one horizontal stroke above two vertical strokes, while *a*, which follows *d^a*, consists of one horizontal stroke above three vertical strokes. The two letters are so similar that the omission is almost an haplography; as however they are not absolutely identical, this species of error may be termed *Pseudo-Haplography*.

17. 1. 78-79 *n^ab^a/uk^ud^ar^ac^ar^a*, as also at 1. 84 and 1. 93, lacks the character *u* after *k^u*, as was noted in §12. The omission seems to be favored not only by a certain superfluousness of the vowel character after the consonant with inherent *u*, but by the likeness of the following letter. The *u* is the divider followed by a horizontal stroke above two vertical strokes; *d^a* is one horizontal stroke above two vertical strokes. The *u* is therefore identical with the divider plus *d^a*. It is possible that here again is an example of Pseudo-Haplography, though the fact that this omission occurs three times in rapid succession is rather evidence that it is not a mere error of script.

18. 1. 95-96 *a/p^aiš^aim^a* = *āpišim*, for nominative *āpiš* plus the enclitic *śim*. But as geminates are never written in this syllabary, it is better to regard *āpišim* for *āpiš-śim* as an orthographic convention than as an example of true *Haplography*.

19. 3. 38-39 *v^ah^ay^a/z^ad^aat^ah^ay^a* and 3. 46 *v^ah^ay^az^ad^aat^ah^ay^a*, = *Vahyazdātahya*; 3. 49 and again 3. 51 *ah^at^a* = *ahāta*.

These four words, found within a few lines of each other, share the same error, the failure to write the conventional final *a* for a short *a* which was not protected by a final consonant. The fact that in the first three of the examples the next word begins with *a*, might seem to be a factor in the failure to write the final *a*; but the same paragraphs include five or more instances where the conventional final *a* is written even though the next word begins with the same character. These four words then seem to represent the engraver's resistance to the unphonetic writing; for the *a* inherent in the preceding consonant sign was adequate to represent the short vowel, and was so used if the short vowel was followed by a weak final consonant not represented in writing. This might be termed *Omission for Phonetic Accuracy*.

20. 3. 77 *ua* for *ut^aa* = *utā*. As the omitted *t^a* bears no close resemblance to either the preceding or the following character, this error may be classed as *Omission*, without any contributing factor.

21. 4. 72 *av^aθ^aaš^at^aa* = *avaθāštā*, is hardly to be interpreted without emendation. The simplest correction is that of Hoffmann-Kutschke (quoted Tolman *Lex.* 69, *CS.* v), who thinks that it is really two words, *avaθā štā*, run together by the failure of the engraver to represent the divider. Since *š^a* consists of two dividers under a horizontal stroke, this is a possible instance of Pseudo-Haplography; but the interpretation 'stand thou thus <and> guard <them>' for the two words and the following *pari[ba]ra* leaves the final verb without its pronominal object, which is unusual in the inscription, and makes the uncompounded *stā* assume the *š* which would be proper only after prefixes ending in *i* or *u* and after the reduplication in *i*. Yet as the *š* is found in *aištata* and extended in *niyaštāyam niyaštāya*, such an extension to *štā* is not too unlikely.

22. Tolman's emendation, making the *š^a* a miswriting for the word divider, and *tā* the pronominal object of the following verb, is improbable, since the demonstrative stem *ta-* is not found as a separate word elsewhere in the Old Persian inscriptions, and the addition of the two strokes to the divider so as to make the *š^a* is an unlikely error.

23. 4. 83 *u]t^aa[n^a < n^a]am^a* = *U]tā[na n]āma*, is the proba-

ble restoration of the passage, but KT 76 ftn. 2 state that the gap has room for only two characters, not three. It is likely that either the first or the second n^a was omitted; an omission which may be termed *Tele-Haplography*, and is to be defined as the failure to write one of two identical characters or groups of characters which are not contiguous, though the intervening character or characters remain. There is a possible alternative, that it was the divider which was omitted; since the symbol n^a consists of two horizontal strokes followed by the divider, the omission of the divider at this point would be an instance of *Pseudo-Haplography*.

24. I. 5-6 $n^a b^a u k^a u r^a / c^a r^a$ for $n^a b^a u k^a u d^a r^a c^a r^a = Nabukudra-cara$, has lost the d^a . This is an easy example of *Pseudo-Haplography*, since u is the same as d^a with a prefixed divider: thus $u d^a = < d^a d^a$.

25. I. 11 $b^a a b^a r^a u v^a$ for $b^a a b^a i r^a u v^a = Bābirauv$. The i of the second syllable is omitted, although the preceding consonant has inherent a , and neither the preceding nor the following character closely resembles i . This must be classed as simple Omission.

II. Errors of Addition.

26. 1. 23 $t^a y^a n^a a < m^a n^a a$ stands for $t^a y^a a < m^a n^a a = tyā manā$. The sign n^a is repeated from the following word. This repetition of a character in a position separated by one or more letters from its rightful place, may be termed *Tele-Dittography*.

27. 4. 44 $u p^a a v^a] r^a t^a i y^a i y^a$ has repetition of $i y^a$ at the end of the word, according to Tolman, *Lex.* 122 (where other interpretations also are listed), and is to be normalized as *upāvartaiy*, a first singular middle. This is a typical example of normal *Dittography*.

III. Errors of Change.

28. 3. 55 $a g^a u r^a t^a$ for $a g^a u b^a t^a = agaubata$. The sign r^a consists of three parallel horizontal strokes followed by one vertical stroke; b^a consists of two horizontals followed by one vertical. The error here is therefore made by adding one horizontal stroke, which changes b^a to r^a ; this may be termed *Change by Addition*.

29. 3. 66 $g^a d^a u t^a v^a = Ga^dutava$, seems to be an error for Ga^dumava , in view of the *kantuma* + at the corresponding place in the Elamitic version, though KT confirm the reading t^a

rather than m^a . Since m^a is made of one horizontal stroke followed by three verticals, and t^a is made of two horizontals followed by three verticals, this is a second instance of Change by Addition.

30. 3. 67 $ar^a r^a$ for $ab^a r^a = abara$. By the omission of one horizontal stroke, b^a is transformed into r^a (cf. on 3. 55 above, where the converse change is discussed). This may be termed *Change by Subtraction*.

31. 4. 71-72 $d^a / t^a s^a$ should probably be $u / t^a v^a = utava$ (Hoffmann-Kutschke, quoted by Johnson IV. 27, cf. Tolman *Lex.* 98). The divider prefixed to d^a produces u , and a short horizontal stroke prefixed to s^a produces v^a . It may be that these strokes originally stood on the rock, and that they have become illegible through weathering; but if nothing has so disappeared, this word gives two more examples of Change by Subtraction. The divider is recorded by KT as legible before the d^a ; the reduction of $< u$ ($= < < d^a$) to $< d^a$ shows also a haplological element. This particular variety of Change by Subtraction might be termed *Semi-Haplology*.

32. 4. 71 and 73 $v^i k^a n^a a h^a y^a = vikanāhy$, 4. 77 $v^i k^a n^a a h^a d^i i \check{s}^a = vikanāhadi \check{s}$ (so read by Jackson) were read by KT as having s^a and not k^a . In view of *viyaka*" 1. 64 and *nika*"*tuv* 4. 80, it seems certain that these are forms from the root *kan*; and if s^a really stands on the Rock, it is another instance of Change by Subtraction, for one vertical stroke followed by three horizontals forms k^a , and one vertical followed by two horizontals forms s^a .

33. I hesitate to list further possible errors from the text of the Behistan inscription. Scholars have made many conjectures, as may be seen by examining the critical apparatus in Tolman, *Lex.*, but most of the conjectures do not deserve consideration since the minute collation by KT. The following might, however, be listed, even if only to support the actual text:

1. 22, 4. 66-67 *ufrastam*; 4. 38 *ufrastam*; 4. 69 *ufrastā* (cf. *Stud.* §64-§69.) The variation between s and \check{s} is merely the result of leveling (*Stud.* 351, ftn. 4).

1. 30 *hamātā* for **hamamātā* almost certainly represents the actual pronunciation, and is therefore not an example of Haplography, but an example of Haplology (*Stud.* §46).

1. 86-87 $u \check{s}^a / b^a ar^a im^a$ is by many scholars supposed to lack two signs at the end of the prior line: $u \check{s}^a t^a r^a / b^a ar^a im^a = u \check{s} trabārim$

'camel-borne,' cf. Avestan *uštra* 'camel.' But *ušabārim* may be correct, if *uša* was a doublet form of *uštra* as *asa* was of *aspā* 'horse' (*Stud.* §47-§51).

1. 87 *as^am^a* = *asam*; 2. 2, 71, 3. 41, 72 *as^ab^aar^aib^aiš^a* = *asabāribiš*. The establishment of *asa* as a doublet of *aspā* makes emendation of these forms superfluous (cf. *Stud.* §50).

2. 74 *h^ar^ab^aan^am^a* = *harbānam* 'tongue'. KT 36 ftn. 4 explain it as from the root in Latin *sorbeō*; this eliminates the need of correction (cf. Tolman *Lex.* 134).

2. 75 and 89 *ucasma* 'eye' may be correct, though somewhat indistinct on the Rock (cf. Weissbach *ZDMG* 61. 726, quoted by Tolman *Lex.* 75).

3. 8 *θakatam* is the correct singular form, and not an error for *θakatā*, which is the correct plural form, required in the other eighteen passages where the word is used (cf. Bartholomae, as quoted by Tolman *Lex.* 95).

4. 6 *adamšim*: the explanation of the difficult enclitic is given *Stud.* §52-§63, especially §63.

4. 65 ++ *m^an^auv^at^am^a* or + + *t^an^a*- or + + *t^au^an^a*-: the reading is too uncertain for the passage to be used here.

4. 89 *i[ya] dīpi* (the illegible gap has space for but one character, according to KT 77 ftn. 5); 4. 90 *iya* [d]ipi. This *iya* is not to be emended to *iya^am^a* = *iyam*, but is to be read *iy*, from Indo-European *i (*Stud.* 348, ftn. 2).

5. 11 *utā* < *daiy* < *marda* 'and he annihilated them.' Objection has been taken to *daiy* as an orthotone and as an accusative. But the change of enclitics to orthotones and vice versa can be paralleled elsewhere, and the form of the accusative plural in Old Persian, outside the enclitic pronouns (which can have no nominative), is invariably that of the nominative plural (*Stud.* 336, ftn. 2), notably in the third person pronouns (*avaiy*, *imaiy*, *tyaiy*). The orthotone value and the nominative form as accusative therefore go hand in hand, and mutually confirm the reading of the text rather than make it suspicious.

34. In the passages of the Behistan Inscription which are surely or probably miswritten, therefore, we have found errors of the following kinds, which have been defined as they were met:

I. Errors of Omission:

Omission, with no apparent motive: 20, 25.
 Omission for Phonetic Accuracy: 19.
 Haplography: 18.
 Haplography with Skipping: 15.
 Tele-Haplography: 23.
 Pseudo-Haplography: 16, 17, 21, 23, 24.

II. Errors of Addition:

Dittography: 27.
 Tele-Dittography: 26.

III. Errors of Change:

Change by Addition: 28, 29.
 Change by Subtraction (including Semi-Haplography: 31): 30, 31, 32.

35. For convenience, the following index of passages, topics, and words discussed above, is appended:

Passages:	
1. 23 <i>ty<an>ā manā</i> 24	4. 83 <i>Utā[(na) n]āma</i> 23
1. 30 <i>hamātā</i> 33	4. 89, 91 <i>īy dipi</i> 33
1. 50 <i>haō dra(ugā dar)śam</i> 15	5. 11 <i>utā daiy marda</i> 33
1. 54-55 <i>auramaz(d)ām</i> 16	I. 5-6 <i>Nabuku(d)racara</i> 12, 24
1. 65 <i>vīgaibaiśaca</i> 11	I. 11 <i>Bāb(i)rauv</i> 25
1. 78-79, 84, 93 <i>Nabukudracara</i> 12, 17	
1. 86-87 <i>uśabārim</i> 33	Topics:
1. 87 <i>asam</i> 33	Enclitic pronouns 33 (bis)
1. 95-96 <i>āpiśim</i> 18	Final vowels 10, 19
2. 74 <i>harbānam</i> 33	Geminated consonants 18
2. 75, 89 <i>ucasma</i> 33	Inherent <i>i</i> 11
3. 8 <i>θakatam</i> 33	Inherent <i>u</i> 11, 12, 17
3. 38-39, 46 <i>Vahyadātahya</i> 19	Vowels after <i>ha</i> 13
3. 49, 51 <i>ahanta</i> 19	Word divider 14, 22, 23, 31
3. 55 <i>agaubata</i> 28	
3. 66 <i>Gandumava</i> 29	Words:
3. 67 <i>abara</i> 30	<i>armina</i> 11
3. 77 <i>u(t)ā</i> 20	<i>arminiya</i> 11
4. 6 <i>adamśim</i> 33	<i>asabāribiś</i> 33
4. 44 <i>upava]rtaiy<aiy></i> 27	<i>ufrasta</i> <i>ufrašta</i> 33
4. 65 ++ <i>manuvatam</i> or + + <i>t(u)nuvatam</i> 33	<i>taumāyā</i> 10
4. 71, 73 <i>vikanāhy</i> 32	<i>Nabukudracara</i> 12, 17, 24
4. 71-72 <i>utava</i> 31	<i>puṣra</i> 10
4. 72 <i>avaśā śta</i> 21, 22	<i>māhyā</i> 10
4. 77 <i>vikanāhadiś</i> 32	<i>vīga</i> 11
	<i>viśtāspa</i> 11

MĀLOBĀ, THE MARĀTHĀ SAINT

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THE STORY OF MĀLOBĀ, as related by Mahipati in his *Bhaktalilāmṛita*, is tragic in the extreme, and well illustrates the Hindu conception of God, as a very present help in time of trouble.

That Mālobā was an historic personage need not be seriously questioned on the ground of the miraculous element in his story. Dnyāneshwar, Nāmdev, Eknāth, Tukarām, and Rāmdās, of unquestioned historic standing, all have the miraculous woven into the accounts of their lives. It is a Hindu feeling that those who live so near to God, as do the true saints, are agents through whom God manifests His power, and that He is sure to do so when they are in distress.

Mahipati (b. 1715, d. 1790) is *par excellence* the biographer of the Marāthā saints, but he was not a higher critic of his sources of information. He accepted the traditional stories as true. His *Bhaktavijaya*, *Santalilāmṛita*, and *Bhaktalilāmṛita* contain long lists of authors and works used by him. No evidence suggests that he might have been an inventor of Lives. He anticipates the charge, however, and in his *Santalilāmṛita* 1. 67-69 says, 'You will raise this doubt in your mind and say, "You have drawn on your own imagination." This is not so. Listen. Great Poet-saints have written books in many languages. It is on their authority that I write this *Santalilāmṛita*. If I wrote on my own authority, my statements would not be respected. The Husband of Rukmani is witness to this, who knows all hearts'. If Mahipati drew his information from unhistoric sources, Mālobā may not stand in the list of actual saints, but the story, illustrating the Hindu idea of God's intervention in the calamities befalling his saints, will not lose its point thereby.

With data so meagre, it is useless to speculate on the date of Mālobā, for in the very unchronologically arranged lists of saints as given by Shekh Mahamad (in 1696), by Jayarāmasuta (c. 1718), by Mahipati (1715-1790) and by Moropant (1729-1794), the name appears among those of both earlier and later date.

There have been published English translations of the Abhangs of the Poet-Saint Tukarām and there are translations of small portions of the works of other Marāthā Saints, but the intensely interesting accounts of their lives, handed down by tradition, and related in verse by the poet Mahīpati, though they have frequently been summarized have never been published in an English translation. Mahīpati's account of their lives is worthy of translation, for it reveals accurately and most vividly the Hindu ideal of a true saint.

Mālobā, the Marāthā Saint

Translation of Mahīpati's Bhaktalilāmrīta, 41. 148-213.

41. 148. There once lived in the Province of Varhād¹ a Bhakta² named Mālobā, a man of supremely noble character. He was a worshiper of Viṭhobā.³ (149) He was a gentleman and merchant, respected and worthy. His business took him in time to the Karnāṭak, to which country he removed with his family, and there he made his home, but remembering Viṭhobā in his heart. (150) He had a son of noble qualities, by the name of Narhari. Both son and father excelled in goodness of character, and possessed minds ever discriminating (between right and wrong). (151) They regarded all mankind as themselves. They were compassionate to all creatures. To the needy and to guests they were generous in gifts and hospitality. (152) They were constant in their worship of Vishnu. They greatly loved the services of song in praise of Hari. They were ever ready in ministering to the saints, and they never uttered an untruth.

(153) After some days of sojourn (in the Karnāṭak) Mālobā's wife died. This caused great sorrow to his heart. 'What shall I do?' he cried. (154) But finally he reasoned to himself thus: 'It is well, after all, that the snare of this world has been broken.' And bringing to mind the Husband of Rukmani, he

¹ Varhād, a District in the Bombay Presidency.

² In the word Bhakta is implied not only one who formally worships, but one whose character is marked by godliness, moral purity, and sincerity.

³ The sacred city of Pāṇḍharpur has an ancient temple with an image within representing a figure standing on a brick. God, as represented by this idol, has the name of Viṭhobā, Viṭhthal, Pāṇḍurang, Pandharināth, and Husband of Rukmani. Vishnu, Krishna, Hari, Lord of Heaven, etc., are used synonymously with Viṭhobā.

destroyed the very seat of Ignorance. (155) But Mālobā soon came under pressure of public opinion. A Southern⁴ bride was found for him. The marriage took place hastily. Later this union proved the cause of great pain to Mālobā.

(156) Some days passed, when suddenly the father of the bride appeared. He was of the Nameless⁵ caste. He recognized his daughter. (157) He went to Mālobā and told him his story from beginning to end, his town, his name, and all his circumstances. (158) 'I am of the lowest caste,' he said. 'My daughter was stolen away in the dead of night by a thief. You have made her your wife. It is evident you have committed a sin.' (159) Mālobā listened to his story, and an agony of contrition filled his soul. 'Oh save me, Oh save me, Lord of Heaven,' he cried. (160) 'Of all sinners in this universe, I am the one great sinner. Could all sins be collected together, and formed into a human statue, I am it. O Purifier from Sin, O Thou who hast mercy on the lowly, I lay my case before Thee.' (161) Mālobā now called his wife to him, and said, 'Do you recognize your father?' She acknowledged all, but made no further reply. (162) Mālobā said to the Nameless, 'Take away your daughter, and as for me I will do whatever the Brahmins prescribe.' (163) The Nameless replied, 'Of what use for me to take away a defiled vessel? My caste fellows will accuse me of wrong, and then what shall I do?' (164) And with this the Nameless left for his village. The affair now became everywhere publicly known, and people remarked, 'She has defiled him.' (165) The rascal who had given this Southern bride in marriage, accompanied by his children, stole away by night and left the country.

(166) Mālobā, in worldly things, was a rich man. Naturally therefore sycophants gathered at his home. But when this great calamity befell him, they all deserted him and fled. (167) His noble-hearted son, Narhari, alone remained by his side. All dinner-brothers at once disappeared. ((168) The Brahmins excommunicated him. His relatives abandoned him. Through repentance, however, he now fully atoned for his sin. (169) He called

⁴I am uncertain of the meaning of *hedichi*. I have assumed it to be a variant of *hedhichi*, southern.

⁵*Anāmīk*, Nameless, is used by Mahipati as synonymous with *Mahār*, one of the lowest castes.

the Brahmans together, and had them rob him of all his wealth. As a loving Bhakta, he now spent all his time in the worship of Hari. (170) Mālobā finally called together a large assembly of Brahmans, and prostrated himself on the ground before them. With joined hands he exclaimed, 'Prescribe at once a penance.' (171) The Brahmans, the Vedic pandits, the learned Shastris consulted the sacred texts and commentaries, and found the penance to be suicide. There was no other adequate penance. (172) After listening to the decision of the Brahmans, Mālobā replied, 'I think so also; but prescribe the method.' (173) The Earth-immortals answered, 'Search for a large cavity in a tamarind tree. Crawl into it, and have the space within filled with cowdung fuel. (174) Then set it afire with your own hands. In performing this penance of suicide all your sin will be destroyed.' (175) Mālobā listened and agreed, remarking, 'Whatever one does, one must suffer the effects. There is no escape whatever.' (176) And so Mālobā sat gladly within the cavity of the tree, the cowdung fuel packed around him, and set it afire. In his heart he contemplated the image of Pāndurang, and earnestly invoked him.

(177) 'O Dweller in Pandharpur', he cried, 'O Viṭhabai, my family goddess! Come quickly and deliver me from my Karma. (178) Those who were friends because of my wealth, whom I had regarded as dear relatives, even they, as the end of my life comes, have all forsaken me and fled. (179) And now, as I am entirely stripped of all repute among men, of honor, of son, of wife, of wealth, do Thou break my bodily bond. (180) Though many other calamities, greater than even this, should come upon me; though the heavens should fall crashing on my body; yet, O Hari, this only would I ask for, that I may remember Thee in my heart.' (181) Then, with firm determination, Mālobā closed his eyes, his heart contemplating the image of Viṭhabā, the source of joy and peace to his devotees. (182) With fixed concentration of mind his lips repeated the names and attributes of God.⁶ 'O Keshava, Nārāyana, Slayer of Madhu, Purifier from Sin, Ocean of Mercy, (183) O Unchangeable One, Infinite One,

⁶ The technical term Nāmasmarana, literally 'remembering name(s)', stands for more than mere remembering. It includes the repeating aloud of God's various names and attributes, as is well illustrated in verses 182-185 above.

Govinda, Supreme Being, Saccidānanda, Savior of the World, Source of Happiness, Shri Mukunda, World's Guru, (184) Shri Rām, Raghupati, Slayer of Rāvana, Destroyer of Demons, Founder of Religion, Lord of the World, who with mighty power released Vrindāraka, (185) O Krishna, O Vishnu, O Dark-Complexioned One, O Protector of thy Bhaktas, O Thou Being of Goodness, this only I ask of Thee, O Ātmārām, that in this my worship there may be love.'

(186) As Mālobā thus worshipped full of love, and tears of love streamed from his eyes, suddenly the Lord of Heaven came to his rescue. (187) The kindled fire had become a roaring flame, but to his body it felt cool. No part of his body was so much as scorched. (188) The Brahmans exclaimed to one another, 'The wonderfully mysterious might of God's Name! The fire, indeed, has not been able to burn him, for the Life of the World has been his protector. (189) Once long ago, when Hiranyakashipu⁷ attempted to burn the Bhakta Prarhād in fire, the fire would not burn him. And so it is with this man.' Thus exclaimed the Brahmans to one another. (190) The fire in the cavity burnt itself out; the live coals became extinguished and fell to the ground. The glorious loving Bhakta now crawled out of the cavity and descended to the ground. (191) The people all marvelled and exclaimed, 'Blessed is this loving Bhakta. In his distress the Husband of Rukmani came to his aid. A wonderful miracle has taken place.' (192) The Brahmans now said to Mālobā, 'It is you who are holy and righteous. In your distress Pandharināth came to your help. You are wholly without blame.'

(193) Mālobā now relinquished his occupation and commercial business, and gave himself up to performing Kirtans⁸ in praise of Hari. His words were words of grace; his teachings the blessed teachings of a saint. (194) And the daugh-

⁷ The well known mythical story (Vishnu Purāna 1. 17) of Hiranyakashipu, the godless, blaspheming, atheistic king of the Demons (Daityas), to kill whom Vishnu had to assume the fourth incarnation, Narasinha, half man, half lion. Hiranyakashipu was incensed at the piety of his son, Prarhād (or Pralhād; Sanskrit Prahrāda) and sought to destroy him by burning him alive, and by other cruel means, but God's power always saved him from even the slightest injury.

⁸ Religious cantatas.

ter of the Nameless, whom he had married without realizing her caste, profited by the good companionship with him, and experienced sincere repentance of heart. (195) She said to Mālobā, 'Tell me some means of salvation, by which I may attain to a different birth.' And this indeed took place. (196) Mālobā, the Vaishnav Bhakta, listened to her and replied, 'In this affair you have committed no wrong whatever. It is true your father has deserted you, but I will continue to give you food and clothing. (197) If you ask me for the means of salvation, hold in your heart what I have already told you, namely, keep Shri Hari in your remembrance without ceasing, and have no concern about anything else.' (198) To all this the young woman assented, and from a distance bowed low to him. Mālobā had a small hut built for her at some distance from his house, and there she lived. (199) She kept her clothes and vessels clean, and regularly performed her baths. She learned to love the repeating of God's names and attributes, and her thought never turned from it. (200) Mālobā would send her, by the hand of his servant, food served in a dish. This was all she would eat, and then she would give herself up to repeating God's names and attributes. (201) By this contact with the good, she attained a character of goodness, and Nārāyana, in his graciousness, would reveal himself to her sight. (202) Days passed in this way, and the end of her life now approached. The angel of Vishnu carried off her soul and took it to heaven. (203) Mālobā learned the news that she was dead. 'Who is there who will be willing to speed her corpse on its good way?' said he. (204) 'No outcaste or Shūdra will even touch her.' Mālobā thought and decided; 'I will do it myself,' he said. (205) 'I was the cause. She has suffered intensely, and now that she has gone hence, I must perform her funeral rites.' (206) Thus thinking and determining he proceeded to enter the hut. Opening the door, he looked toward the corpse, when behold, it had changed into a mass of flowers. (207) 'This,' he exclaimed, 'is the mighty glory of the worship of Vishnu, made evident to the sight of men. By this He has truly increased the praise of his servants.'

(208) From that day men everywhere began to honor Mālobā. 'The Husband of Rukmani was his help,' they exclaimed, 'and delivered him out of his great trouble.' (209) From that day

also Mālobā began to give Kirtans that appealed to the tender sentiment, and pious listeners were moved in their hearts to deep emotion. (210) In Kirtans the nine sentiments are used, and listened to by the devotees of Vishnu, but the supreme means for the realizing of the presence of God is the tender (*karuna*) sentiment.⁹ (211) The desire was now begotten in Mālobā's heart to reach the other side of the ocean of this worldly life, and so using the tender (*karuṇa*) sentiment he pled with God. (212) This Bhakta of God now felt the desire to meet with God, and so he went into the forest, and there tenderly pled. (213) The Lord of Heaven heard his cry, and quickly came, for this conforms to his character, a character described by Shri Vyāsa in his Song of Praise.

⁹ The nine sentiments or passions are *Shringāra*, love; *Hāsyā*, mirth; *Karuṇā*, tenderness; *Raudra*, anger; *Vīra*, heroism; *Bhayānaka*, fear; *Bībhatsa*, disgust; *Adbhuta*, astonishment; *Shānta*, peace.

GILGAMES AND ENGIDU, MESOPOTAMIAN GENII OF FECUNDITY

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TWO OF THE MOST INTERESTING FIGURES in ancient mythology are the heroes of the Babylonian national epic, Gilgames and Engidu. In this paper they will be studied in as objective a way as possible, avoiding the knotty problems connected with the evolution of the epic. Even on the latter, however, some light may be thrown. A thousand and one tempting ideas come to mind, but our materials are still too scanty for the composition of a successful history of Mesopotamian literature and religion, as shown by the recent attempt of the brilliant philosopher of Leipzig, Hermann Schneider.¹ Thanks to the discovery of the temple library of Nippur, Sumerian literature is swelling so rapidly that few theories can be regarded as established beyond recall. On the other hand, our knowledge is now sufficiently definite to permit lucrative exploitation of comparative mythology and civilization; indeed, since many of these problems may be treated on the molecular, if not the atomic principle (cf. *JBL* 37. 112), their solution is an indispensable prerequisite to the future history of Babylonian thought. My general attitude towards the methods and theories of comparative mythology is succinctly given *JBL* 37. 111-113.

The name Gilgames is usually written ^dGIŠ-GIN (TU)-MAŠ, read *Gi-il-ga-mes* (š), the Γιλγαμος of Aelian, *De natura anim.*, 12, 21 (Pinches, *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. 4, p. 264). *CT*² 12. 50. *K* 4359, obv. 17, offers the equation *GIŠ-GIN-MAS-*

¹ See his *Kultur und Denken der Babylonier und Juden*, Leipzig, 1910.

² Note the following abbreviations in addition to those listed *JAOS* 39. 65, n. 2: *AEW* = *Archiv fur Religionswissenschaft*; *BE* = *Publications of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*; *GE* = Gilgames-epic; *HT* = Poebel, *Historical Texts*; *JEA* = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*; *KTEI* = Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalten*; *NE* = Haupt, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*; *PSBA* = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*; *RA* = *Revue d'Assyriologie*; *RHE* = *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*; *UG* = Ungnad-Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, Göttingen, 1911; *ZDMG* = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganländischen Gesellschaft*.

SI = Giš-gibil-ga-mes; CT 18. 30 ab. 6 ff. gives *KALAG-GA-IMIN* = ²*Giš-gibil-ga-mes, muqtablu*, 'warrior,' and *âlik pâna*, 'champion, leader.'³ The latter ideogram is merely an appellative describing him as 'the seven-fold valiant.' The full form of his name, ⁴*Giš-gibil-ga-mes* (cf. *SGL* 87), is often found on early monuments, especially seals and votive inscriptions from Erech and the vicinity. In a sacrificial list from Lagaš (De la Fuye, *Documents*, 54. 10. 6; 11. 5) his name appears in the form ⁴*Giš-gibil-gin-mes*. As the sibilant must have been primarily *s* (see below), the second element takes the variant forms *ginmas*, *games*, and *ginmes*. Since the first of these writings is late, it may be overlooked in fixing the original pronunciation; the other forms point to a precursor **ganmes*, which became *ginmes* by vocalic harmony, and *games* by syncope. The primary form of the name was, therefor, **Gibilgammes*, whence, by contraction, *Gilgames*, the meaning of which will be considered below.

According to Sumerian historiographers (Poebel, *HT* 75), Gilgames was the fifth king of the dynasty of Eanna (name of the *ziggurat* of Erech), succeeding Meskingašer son of Babbar (the sun-god), who reigned 325 years, Enmerkar, his son (420), Lugalbanda, the shepherd (1200), and Dumuzi, the palm-cultivator (100).⁵ The hero himself was the son of the goddess Ningishzida, consort of the god Lugalbanda, and of Aš, the *enu* or *ramku* (*išib*)-priest of Kullab, a town as yet unidentified, but certainly near Erech. Aš is also called the *mes-sag Unug* (*CT* 24. 35. 29-30), 'chief scribe of Erech,' an epithet translated *CT* 16. 3. 88 (cf. Schroeder, *MVAG* 21, 180) by *nagir Kullabi* (the relation of Erech and Kullab was like that existing between Lagaš and Girsu). His consort is called Ningarsag, or *Nin-gú-e-sir-ka*, both

³ In *âlik pâni* as a heroic appellative we may possibly have the source of the Babylonian royal name Orchamus of Ovid, *Met.* 4, 212, since *ἄρχαμος*, 'leader of a row,' might well be a translation of the expression into Greek.

⁴ Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 40, n. 1. reads the name ⁴*Gi-bil-agamis*, taking *TU* to be originally *MIE* = *aga* (Br. 6945), and rendering 'The god Gibil is commander.' This is mere guess-work.

⁵ Poebel took *šU-ĞAgunu* to be equivalent to *šU-ĞA* 'fisherman,' but Barton (*Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 264, n. 3) is almost certainly right in explaining the group as *šU-PES*, and translating 'palm-tree-fertilizer,' an ideal occupation for a god of fecundity.

⁶ See Förtsch, *OLZ* 18. 367 ff. Sum. *â* means 'father' (for *a'a, ada*); Aš may have been himself a figure of the Attis type. Was his consort originally *Ama*, 'mother' (cf. *Ama Engur*) like Anatolian *Mâ*?

figures closely related to Ninsun. In the Babylonian recension of the second tablet of *GE*, recently published by Langdon, the mother of Gilgames bears the name *r̄imtu*" *ša supūri Ninsunna*, the *r̄imat Ninsun* of the Assyrian version (Poebel, *OLZ* 17. 4 ff.). The 'wild-cow of the fold' corresponds to Leah, consort of the *ab(b)îr Ia'aqob*, 'bull Jacob,' as pointed out *JBL* 37. 117.

The king-list gives Gilgames only 126 years, hardly more than Tammuz, who was torn away in the flower of his youth. Evidently there is a close relation between the hero's vain search for immortality and the short duration of his career. Like the son of Peleus and Thetis he was doomed to die young, a fate which was presumably the original reason assigned for his quest of life. The morbid fear of death and the desire to be freed from the venereal disease, which, as Haupt has made probable, the vindictive Ištar had inflicted upon him, are, at all events, secondary motives, characteristic of a rather corrupt and cynical society, such as may well have existed in Erech during the last part of the third millennium. From *SLT*, No. 5, it appears that Gilgames preserved the title of high-priest of Kullab (*en Kul-ab^{ki}-gē*) after being elevated to the throne. Both in *GE* and its Sumerian prototype he appears as the builder of the wall of Erech, a tradition mentioned in an inscription of Anam of Erech (twenty-second century). According to *GE* 11. 322 he was assisted in this work by seven wise architects (note the motive of the seven sages). In the Sumerian text of a Gilgames-epic, published by Langdon, we read (obv. 15-20; Engidu seems to be addressing the hero) :

*Unug^{ki} giš-kin-ti dingir-ri-e-ne-gē
ē-an-na ē-an-ta ē-dē
dingir-gal-gal-e-ne me-bi ba-an-ag-eš-ám
bád-gal bád an-ni ki-uš-sa
ki-ma-mağ an-ni gar-ra-ni
sag-mu-e-sum za lugal ur-sag-bi =*

'In Erech, the handiwork⁷ of the gods,
Eanna, the temple which reaches heaven,⁸

⁷ Sum.. *giš-kin-ti* (literally 'wooden-work taken hold of'; contrast *SLT* 125), whence *kiškittū* and *kiškattū* (M. 753, 4033), means both 'handiwork,' and 'artisan'; cf. Langdon, *Grammatical Texts*, p. 26, n. 2.

⁸ Cf. Gudea, Cyl. A, 17, 18, etc., for *an-ni uš-sa*, 'reach heaven'; the insertion of *ki* does not affect the sense, nor is the oxymoron intentional.

Where the great gods gave their decrees,
 The great wall, the wall which reaches heaven,
 The mighty structure,⁹ of celestial construction,
 Thou hast the supremacy (hast made head); thou art king and
 hero.'

This passage implies that Gilgames, of whom it is said (obv. 10-11) *gub-gub-bu-dè su(KU)-su-u-dè dumu-lugal-la da-ri e-ne* = 'standing or sitting, ever the son of a king is he,' built the temple Eanna and the wall of the city. A reference to the erection of Eanna is found *GE* 1, 10; see Poebel, *HT* 123. The founding of the city itself is ascribed in the Sumerian chronicle to Enmerkar, *lù Unuga mu-un-da-dú-a*.

As might be expected, Gilgames was regarded as the special patron of the city, a position in which he may easily have enjoyed more popularity than the distant god of heaven, Anu, theoretically the patron of Erech. Several centuries before Anam, Utu-*ğegal* (*ca.* 2600), the liberator of Babylonia from the yoke of Guti, says in his triumphal inscription (Col. 3, 1 ff.; see *RA* 9. 115): *“Giš-gibil-ga-mes du[mu]”* *“Nin-sun-na-gè maškim-šù ma-an-sum; dumu Unug-ga dumu Kul-ab-ka šà-ğul-la ba-an-gar”* = 'G, the son of N, he gave him as a guardian genius; the people of Erech and Kullab he (Gilgames) made joyous of heart.' He received divine honors at Lagaš and Nippur, presumably also elsewhere, while his cult survived into Assyrian times; cf. the image (*çalmu*) of Gilgames mentioned Harper, Letters, 1. 56.

In turning to consider the original nature of Gilgames, his solar characteristics become immediately apparent. The hero's adventures in the epic remind one involuntarily of the deeds of Heracles and Samson, whose essentially solar nature is clear, even after sundry adscititious elements have been eliminated; mythology is a liberal master, employing motives of the most varied origin in its service. Like the sun-god, Šamaš, our hero (see the incantatory hymn, *NE* 93) is the *da'ān Anunnaki*, 'the judge of the A'; like the sun, again, he is the *hā'it kibrāti*, 'the overseer of the regions'; it is expressly stated (*NE* 93. 8) that the powers of Šamaš are delegated to him. Gilgames figures as *Ner-gal*, lord of the underworld, in *SLT*, No. 6, obv. 3. 10 f., *ki-dg “Ereš-ki-gal”* *“Giš-gibil-ga-mes lugal-kúr-ra-gè”* = 'the beloved of

⁹ *Ki-ma* = *ki-má* (*ki-gar*; cf. *du(l)-mar-ra* and *ki-dur*, both = *šubtu*).

E, Gilgames, lord of the mountain (i. e., the underworld).' In Langdon, *Liturgies*, No. 8, rev. 3, he receives the appellation *umun-ki-ga-gè*, 'lord of the underworld.' In the epic his mistress is Išharā, a form of Ištar with marked chthonic associations. Whatever we may think of Egyptian and Greek parallels, in Babylonia it is the sun-god who appears as judge both of the living and of the dead, spending his time as he does half with the shades and half with mortals. While the writing *ᵈGiš*, found in the Meissner fragment and the Philadelphia text of the second tablet, is an abbreviation (cf. Poebel, *OLZ* 17. 5), it is interesting to note that *ᵈGiš* is explained as *Šamaš*, and that *giš* also = *išātu*, 'fire' (*SGI* 98). As these equations suggest, Gilgames stands in close relation to the fire-gods (naturally in many respects solar) Nusku (cf. Hommel, *OLZ* 12. 473 ff.), Gibil (cf. his name), and Gira (cf. *Maqlû* 1. 37 ff.), who shares some of his attributes. In fact, Gira's ideogram *ᵈGIŠ-BAR* (for reading cf. Meissner, *OLZ* 15. 117; for *Gira* < *Gišbara* cf. *JAOS* 39. 87, note; this god must not be confused with *ᵈGİR*, for whom see below) may be partly responsible for the late writing of the name of the hero as *ᵈGIŠ-GIN-BAR(MAŠ)*.

In the capacity of solar hero, Gilgames has much in common with 'his god' (*ilišu*, *GE* 6. 192) Lugalbanda. It may even be shown that the saga of Gilgames has been enriched by the spoils of the latter. In the story of the birth of Gilgames, reported by Aelian, the Babylonian king Seuechoros (*Σευηχορος*), warned by the astrologers that his daughter would bear a son who would deprive him of the kingdom, shut her up in the acropolis. However, she was mysteriously visited, and bore a son, who was forthwith thrown from the tower. An eagle caught the child on its outstretched wings, and saved it to fulfil the decrees of fate. As Aelian observes, this is the well-known motive of Perseus, while the Babylonian sources available assign the Aeneas motive to the hero, who was the son of a priest of Kullab (originally a god) by the goddess of fertility. Lugalbanda, on the other hand, so far as the texts inform us, follows the Perseus recipe. He is the son of the sun-god, who, we may suppose, had visited his mother in the guise of a golden shower;¹⁰ he passes his youth as a shepherd

¹⁰ The motive of the golden shower is Oriental as well as Hellenic, and may safely be postulated as a common explanation of the mode of solar gen-

before mounting the throne. It is very important to note that his predecessor, Enmerkar, is not called his father; he may safely, however, be regarded as his grandfather. Now, Σενηχορος is to be read *Euenχορος*; the initial C is simply dittography of the final C in the preceding word *βασιλεύοντος*. Euechoros bears the same relation to *Enmerkar* (pronounced *Enmerkar*) as *Euedorahnchos* does to *Enmeduranki* (cf. also *Ενεδωκος* for *Enmedúga*, pronounced *Enuedók*). We may, therefor, tentatively supply the missing details of the Babylonian legend. Lugalbanda was the son of Enmerkar's daughter by Šamaš. Being thrown from the tower by his grandfather's command, an eagle rescues him; an eagle carries the related Etana to heaven in a similar story. Lugalbanda grows up as a shepherd, and on reaching manhood is elevated by the favor of the gods to his rightful throne. In the later form of the story, transferred to Gilgames, the hero becomes a gardener, since this occupation had become the legendary prerequisite of kingship, as in the sagas of Sargon the Elder and Ellil-bâni of Isin.

My reconstruction of the Lugalbanda myth is supported by the indications in the fragments published *HGT*, Nos. 8-11, all belonging to a single epic, probably part of the Lugalbanda cycle, as follows from the mention of the storm-bird Im-dugud (Zû) in 11, 3. From this text we learn that Enmerkar, son of [Mesingašer] (8, rev. 10), was a mighty king, ruling in Kullab without a rival (8, obv. 4 ff.). Unfortunately, however, the throne has no heir (9, rev. 5 f.: *aratta [LAM-KÚR-RU-KI] áš-ba - - - a-bil* [= *i-bil* (*RA* 10. 97) = *ablu*] *nu-tug-da*). The poem goes on to introduce the *kurkû* bird (9, rev. 9 ff.): *kûr-gîsu ki-a [] pa-te-si Sumer^{hi}-ra [] mu-da-kú-ù-dè kin-gí-a En-me-ir-kár en-nun []* = 'The *kurkû* bird in the land [] the viceroy of Sumer [] to nourish [] the messenger of Enmerkar [held] watch.' Tho the name of Lugalbanda does not occur, we can hardly doubt that this passage alludes to the rescue of the youthful hero from his hostile grandfather by the *kurkû* bird (who may be an inter-
eration. In Hindu tales (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 20, 145; Vol 21, p. 374) a traveler, before setting out on a journey, tells his pregnant wife that the birth of a son will be announced to him by a shower of gold, of a daughter by a shower of silver. These showers are primarily metaphoric expressions for the golden and silver rays of the sun and moon, respectively male and female according to the most general belief.

mediary for Zû, whose relations with our hero would then date from the latter's infancy).

Lugalbanda,¹¹ with the consort Ninsun, was the principal god of Marad,¹² whence he bore the name Lugal-Marâda (*AMAR-da*), and of Tupliaš (*Ašnunnak*) in eastern Babylonia. He also received divine honors at Erech and Kullab, especially during the dynasty of Amnanu (*ca.* 2200). Accordingly he is listed among the legendary kings of the postdiluvian dynasty of Erech. Lugalbanda and Ninsun were worshiped also elsewhere, as at Lagaš and Nippur; a patesi of the former city bears the name Ur-Ninsun. Lugalbanda belongs to the same class of modified sun-gods as Ninurta, and hence is combined with Ninšubur and Ningirsu, deities of this type (IIR 59, rev. 23 f.). In a hymn published by Radau (*Hilprecht Anniv. Vol.*, Plates 6-7; cf. p. 418), he is addressed as *kug*¹³ *"Lugal-banda gu-ru-um kúr-ra* = 'holy L, offspring of the mountains,' and identified with Babbar (Šamaš): *šul* *"Babbar zi-zi-da-zu-dè kalam igi-mu-e-da-zi-zi* = 'Hero Babbar, when thou risest, over the land thy eye thou dost lift,' etc. Like Gilgámes, and other old gods of productivity, he came to occupy a prominent position in myth and legend, thanks to the annual celebration of his adventures in mimetic fertility rites. I would not attempt to decide whether his role as shepherd came from solar symbolism (cf. *AJSL* 34. 85, n. 2), or is on a par with the pastoral aspect of other gods of fecundity (cf. *JBL* 37. 116 f.); both conceptions doubtless played a part.

Around the figure of Lugalbanda seasonal and reproductive myths soon crystallized, later spreading from their original home, and developing into the heroic legend, the prototype of the true saga, with its historical nucleus and lavish display of mythical and romantic finery. The saga could not spring, as some appear to think, full-armed from the popular fancy, but had to grow apace as utilitarian cult-motives whetted the imagination. Lugalbanda became the focus of a legendary cycle of very great

¹¹ Radau, *Hilprecht Anniv. Vol.*, p. 429, points out that Lugalbanda as lord of Tupliaš is Tišpak, the *am-banda* = *rimu eqdu* (Ar. *āqada* = *šadda*); hence his name means 'mighty king,' rather than 'wise king.'

¹² Modern *Wannet es-Sa-dūn*, on the Euphrates, nearly due west of Nippur; see Clay, *OLZ* 17. 110 f., and Thureau-Dangin, *EA* 9. 84.

¹³ For reading *kug* cf. Luckenbill, *AJSL* 33. 187.

interest,¹⁴ since its perfected form, found in the myth of Lugalbanda and Zû, is written in Sumerian, while our Gilgames-epic is a Semitic composition, however much it may have drawn on Sumerian sources. Besides the Assyrian translation of over a hundred lines (*KB* 6. 1. 46 ff.) we now possess goodly fragments of the original Sumerian: *CT* 15. 41-43; *IGT*, Nos. 14-19, and probably also 8-11 (see above); in Nos. 20-21 we have part of a chronicle dealing with events during the reigns of Lugalbanda and his successor Tammuz (cf. *HT* 117). Most of the latter text apparently refers to Lugalbanda, since Tammuz is not mentioned until the close. Along with victorious invasions of Elam, Halma (= Guti), and Tidnu^m (= Amûru), a disastrous flood which overwhelmed Eridu is described (obv. 11-12): *a-urú-gul-la-gè [] NUN-KI a-gal-la si-a []* = 'the waters of the destructive deluge.....Eridu, flooded by the inundation [].' In connection with this the *deus ex machina*, Ninlil, comes on the scene; despite the pseudo-historical setting we are dealing with myth.

The story of Lugalbanda and Zû, personification of the hurricane, is primarily, as has often been observed, the contest between

¹⁴ It is possible that the saga of Nimrod may be an offshoot of the Lugalbanda cycle rather than of the Gilgames cycle, especially since the former seems to have been much more important than the latter in early times, and from a home in Marad more likely to influence the west than the latter, whose hearth was Erech. As lord of Marad Lugalbanda is the *Lugal-Marâda* or the **Nin-Marâda*, just as Nergal-Lugalgira is the *Nin-Girsu*, the lord of Girsu, and as Marduk is the *Nin-Tintir* (*IIR* 59, obv. 47), Ellil the *Nin-Nibru*, or Lord of Nippur (*ibid.* 9); cf. also Sin the *Bêl-Harrân*, etc. The heroic shepherd and conqueror of wild-beasts, **Nimrâd*, may thus have become the mighty hunter, *Nimrôd*, just as *Dagân* becomes *Dagôñ*, and *Hadâd* 'Adôðos. Similarly the shepherd Damu (Tammuz) became in Byblos the hunter Adonis. The figure of Nimrod was probably influenced by the impressive monumental representations of the Assyrian Heracles; he may easily reflect a western 'Orion,' but Eduard Meyer's view that he was primarily a Libyan 'Jagdriese' is gratuitous. The recent historical theories are still less felicitous: Sethe (*Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 6, p. 650) holds that Nimrod is a corruption of the official name Nebmu^cerê^c of the indolent Amenophis III, appearing in cuneiform as Nimmurija; Van Gelderen (*Expositor*, 1914, pp. 274 ff.) explains Nimrod as a corruption of Narâmsin, historically possible, but phonetically incredible. Jensen's explanation, deriving *Nimrôd* from **Namurta*, his reading of *NIN-IB*, is antiquated by the discovery of the correct reading *Ninurta*, which became *Inušta* (*JAO* 38. 197), a form quite unlike Nimrod.

the sun and the storm-clouds, whom he subdues, just as Marduk overcomes Ti'āmat in the cosmogonic reflection of the motive. Without entering into an elaborate discussion of the myth, which I hope to treat elsewhere, I will call attention to an episode which has apparently influenced the Gilgames cycle. Lugalbanda's journey to Mount Sâbu, where the wine-goddess Ninkasi-Siris helps him to outwit Zû and recover the tablets of fate, is in some respects the prototype of Gilgames' visit to the wine-goddess Sâbîtu. In *GE* the episode of Sâbîtu's mountain paradise is decidedly in the air; in the older recension, however, it is clearer; instead of being merely in charge of a station on the hero's route to Elysium, she is his real goal.¹⁵ Only after he despairs of securing from her the immortality for which he yearns does he undertake the perilous voyage to Utnapîštîm. As I shall show in detail elsewhere, the wine-goddess Sâbîtu becomes in effect the divinity of life; in her hands was supposed to rest the bestowal of eternal life, so far as this was terrestrially obtainable. Her name is derived from Mount Sâbu,¹⁶ the abode of Ninkasi, with whom, as will be shown elsewhere, Siduri Sâbîtu is essentially identical. I have proved, *AJSL* 35. 179, that the neighboring Mount Hašur, the abode of Zû, is Kašiari-Masius, and that Sâbîtu's garden lay in the same region, which corresponds to the northern habitat of the *soma*, as well as to the vineyard-paradise of Anatolia. As clearly indicated in the fragments of the myth, Lugalbanda recovers the *dupšimâti* by inviting the bird to a banquet, and intoxicating him with the aid of the goddess of conviviality—a motive which reappears in a multitude of similar tales of the Marsyas type. The motive is closely associated with the *soma* cycle of the Indo-Iranians, as will be shown in another article; two distinct motives have evidently been fused, the eagle being the *tertium comparationis*. The *dupšimâti* belong with the motive above referred to, as they appear also in the creation myth; Lugalbanda originally

¹⁵ Cf. *JAO* 38. 61-64; additional evidence will be adduced in my article 'The Mouth of the Rivers,' *AJSL* 35. 161-195, and in a paper entitled 'The Goddess of Life and Wisdom,' to appear in *AJSL*.

¹⁶ Mount Sâbu, probably the name of a northern mountain, near Ġašur-Kašiari-Masius (see my article in *AJSL*, cited in the preceding note), was perhaps selected because of the paronomasia with *sabû*, 'wine,' and its congeners.

goes after the fertilizing rains, symbolized by wine, just as Indra wrests the *soma* from the bird Garuda, and bestows it upon the thirsty land. As the draught of the gods is also the potion of immortality, this is at the same time a journey in search of life. That Gilgames' visit to Sâbitu was originally vicarious, made on behalf of his people, is highly probable; he was a god of fertility (see below). The individualizing of the myth naturally resulted in the idea that his mission was vain; did he not die at a relatively early age (see above)? The journey to the Mouth of the Rivers, originally to bring the inundation, has undergone the same modification. As Lugalbanda is a more pronounced sun-god than Gilgames, it is interesting to note that solar motives are unquestionably worked in with our episode; *GE* 9, Col. 4, 46, the nightly journey of the sun thru the *harrân Šamši* of the underworld, in order to be reborn from the womb of the mother-goddess the next morning, is expressly alluded to. It may be that the myth has gained admission to the epic cycle thru the influence of the solar analogy.

In the cult, at least, the solar side of Gilgames was quite subordinate to his aspect as a god of fecundity. The chthonic character of our divinity, while in its specific development implying solar relationship, is no less an indication of kinship with gods of vegetation. We cannot, therefore, be surprised to find many Tummuz-motives in the cycle of Gilgames; his amours with Išhara and Ištar are vegetation-myths (cf. *JBL* 37. 115-130). Some of the evidence presented to show that Gilgames was primarily a god of vegetation by Schneider, in his suggestive essay,¹⁷ is not valid, but the main thesis, if somewhat broadened to include the various functions of a god of fertility, is certainly correct. Equally cogent is Prince's view (*Babyloniacâ*, 2. 62-64), tho the explanation of *GIS-GIN-MAŠ* as 'héros divin de la production' leaves the older writings of the name entirely out of consideration. The symbol of the god was the *ši'a-am* *Gilgames* (*CT* 15. 14, rev. 11, 13), with the Semitic equivalent *ildaqqu* (for **iç-daqqu*, 'small tree'), 'sprout, slip.' Hommel (*OLZ* 12. 473 ff.) has ingeniously connected the *ši'a-am* (lit. 'plant of the water of the wild bull') with the cylinder of Sargon the Elder, representing a hero of the Gilgames type watering a wild-bull from a stream, over which a

¹⁷ *Zwei Aufsätze zur Religionsgeschichte Vorderasiens*, pp. 42-84.

young shoot is growing. The scene is evidently symbolical; the stream is the Euphrates, which provides growing vegetation and browsing cattle alike with the needful moisture. Similar representations, primarily serving the purpose of sympathetic magic, will be treated below. The *a-am zi-da* of Gudea, Cyl. A, 5, 8, and 6, 9, is a cult object, apparently a lustral laver, like the *abzu*; in Gudea's dream it is placed before him, toward the sunrise, a position forcibly reminding one of the basin in the *çit Šamši* of *Šilhak-in-Šušinak* (*RT* 31. 48), also, of course, placed toward the sunrise. The name may indicate that the basin was placed on the back of a bull, just as the laver of Solomon's temple was supported by twelve bulls,¹⁸ symbolizing, as will be shown elsewhere, the origin of the water from the mouth of the bull Enki, lord of the fresh water (see below), or his attendant bulls, the *gud-sig-sig*, donors of the fecundating water of the two rivers.¹⁹ The *giš-a-am*, which presumably derived its name from the *a-am* by its side, from which it drew moisture, like the *ildaqqu* on the bank of the river, may have been a symbolic tree or post, like the wooden pole of Aširat or the *dd*-pillar of Osiris.²⁰

¹⁸ In this connection I may take up the problem touched *JAOS* 36. 232. Both *kijjôr-ki-úr*, 'platform,' and *kijjôr-kiuru*, 'laver,' are ultimately identical. Primarily *ki-úr* meant 'base, foundation-platform' (*duruššu* = *išdu*, *temennu*), whence, like *ki-gal*, 'surface, site, ground,' it is used metaphorically for 'Hades' (cf. Langdon, *Liturgies*, p. 138). The explanation of *ki-úr* as *nêrib erçitim*, 'entrance to the under-world,' reminds one of the Egyptian *mastaba*, which served as a link between the two worlds. The shrine *č-ki-ur* in Nippur reminds one of a shrine near Thebes which seems to have been regarded as an entrance to the underworld; cf. Foucart, *PSBA* 32. 102 ff. The laver *kiuru* may have received its name from being on a platform, or it may symbolize the lower world, like the *apsû*, the big laver from which the *egubbé* were replenished; see my article on 'The Mouth of the Rivers,' *AJSL* 35. 161-195.

¹⁹ Cf., for the present, Frank, *Religion*, p. 275.

²⁰ When a tree in which a great numen of fertility resided died, the trunk often remained an object of veneration, being replaced finally by a symbolic post, usually representing a palm or cedar. Lutz has brilliantly shown that the *dd*-pillar was a stereotyped palm; etymologically it belongs, as I shall show elsewhere, with Assyr. *qaddu*, 'sign-post.' It may be added that Osiris is the masculine counterpart to Aširat, as both Ember and myself have concluded for different reasons; the old West-Semitic god Ašir, a god of fertility with lunar associations, seems to be identical with Osiris (for *Asirey, *Asir*). For Osiris and the moon cf. *JAOS* 39. 73, n. 15.

In view of the close relation of Gilgames to the gods Gibil, Šamaš, and Tammuz, I would explain the name **Giš-gibil-gan-mes* (see above) as meaning primarily 'torch-fecundating hero' (i. e., the hero who fecundates with the torch of fertility).²¹ According to a vocabulary cited *SGL* 68, *giš-gibil* = *içcu kabbu* and *gišgibil* = *içcu irru*, both meaning 'fire-stick,' or 'fire-brand.' In the above-quoted hymn, Gilgames is called *rabbu*²² *ša nîšē*, 'the torch (which illuminates) the people.' Similarly we read *KTRI* 1, No. 32, obv. 33; *Šamaš diparka kátim mâtâti* = 'Šamaš, thy torch overwhelms the lands.' The metaphoric allusion to the sun as a lamp is familiar; cf. *Sûra* 25, 62, where the sun is called *sirâğ*, and note that Gibil was symbolized by a lamp. This explanation of *giš-gibil* is much more likely than the one advanced *SGL* 87; at the same time it is perfectly possible that the name Gilgames was later thought to mean 'ancestral hero,' or the like. My translation of *gan* as 'fecundity' is strongly favored by the names *Šagan* and *Sumugan* (see below). Our name falls in the same category as *Dumu-zi-abzu* (Tammuz), 'the loyal child of the subterranean lake' representing vegetation as perennial, never-failing, a happy state which the auspicious name of the god was fancied to aid in producing.²³ Gilgames was worshiped as patron of the growing forces of nature, felt to emanate from the warm rays of the sun. Hence he is a vegetation god, and, like the plants over which he presides, his quest of eternal life is doomed to failure. Thru his association with the sprouting and vigorous, instead of with the fading and dying, with the virile male rather than with the ewe and lamb, he is placed in conscious opposition to Tammuz, the darling of women, who comes to grief thru the wiles of Istar.

²¹ Contrast the formation of the name with others in the same royal list: *Mes-anni-pada*, 'Hero chosen by heaven'; *Mes-kiag-nuna*, 'Hero loved by the prince' (Ana, god of heaven); *Meskingašer*, perhaps 'Hero sent by the lord' (*kinga* = *kin-gé-a*; *šer* older form of *ner*). Even in name these are lay figures.

²² Read *rabbu*, from *rbb*, 'shoot arrow, flash,' instead of *rappu*, as in Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*, p. 178a; cf. *nablu*, 'flame,' from *nbl*, 'shoot arrow,' etc. I shall discuss the word elsewhere.

²³ *Dumu-zi-abzu* is thus a name like *Apām-napāt*, 'offspring of the water,' an Indo-Iranian genius of fecundity (cf. Gray, *AEW* 3. 18 ff.). In the arid lands of Central Asia the subterranean water-supply was all-important, and the vegetation which depends on it was most appropriately termed 'child of the water.'

It is also theoretically possible that the name Gilgames means 'Torch of the (god) "Hero of fecundity,"' a theophorous formation containing the divine name *Gan-mes*.²⁴ It is noteworthy that a god Games seems to have been known, to judge from the city-name *Kargamiš*, *Karkemiš* (the shift in sibilants is regular in northern Mesopotamia), 'quay of Games.' Virtually all the names of river-ports beginning with *kar* (Assyr. *kāru*), 'quay,' have a divine name as second element; thus, to illustrate without attempting to exhaust the list, we find in the Kossean period *Kar-Adad*, *Kar-Bānīti*, *Kar-Bau*, *Kar-Bēl-mātāti*, *Kar-Damu*, *Kar-Duniaš*,²⁵ *Kar-Nábū*, *Kar-Ninlil*, *Kar-Ninurta*, *Kar-Nusku*, *Kar-Samaš*. For various reasons, which I will not give here, I am inclined to see in Games²⁶ the precursor of the great Euphratean god *Dagān*.²⁷

The most sympathetic feature of the Gilgames-epic is the enduring intimacy between the king of Erech and his companion, the erstwhile wild-man Engidu. So harmonious is their friendship that the latter almost seems a mere shadow, designed solely

²⁴ *Gan-mes* would be a form like *ukkin-mes*, 'senator' (*puršumu*). The word *gan*, 'fertility' (= *gē*), is found especially in *ama-gan* (see below), and in *sa-gan*, *sumu-gan*, and *Gan*, names of the god of fertility.

²⁵ There can be little doubt that Streck's explanation of *Karduniaš* is better than Hüsing's (see *ZA* 21. 255 ff., and contrast *OLZ* 11. 160, n. 1). *Karduniaš* may have been originally the Kossean name of a city in north-eastern Babylonia, on the frontier.

²⁶ It is not impossible that our *Games*, later pronounced **Gāyiš*, is the *Gš* of *Brgš* (Assyr. Mār Gūsi) in the Zakir inscription. The older form may survive in the Moabite *Kammōš* (Assyr. *Kammusu*), for **Kammēš*, like *Sargōn* for *Sarkēn*, etc.—it was long ago suggested that *Karkemiš* meant 'fortress of Chemosh'—which would then belong to the Amorite period of contact with Mesopotamia, like *Damu* and *Lahmu* (Schröder, *OLZ* 18. 291 f., 294 f.), *Išvara* and *Dagān*, while *Gōš* would be a much later, Aramaean loan, like נִילָה for *Ilumēr*, *Iluyēr*, *Nikkal* for *Ningal*, *Nsk* for *Nusku*, etc.

²⁷ *Dagān*, like *Adad*, with whom he alternates, was originally a weather-god; his name is connected with the root *dg*, 'be cloudy, rainy' (Ar. *dagga*, *dāgā*, *dāgana*). From the nature of things most gods of productivity are also regents of the weather, and conversely. The ichthyoid development of *Dagān* in Palestine is due to popular etymology connecting the name with *dag*, 'fish,' as natural for a maritime people. Heb. *dāgān*, 'grain,' is probably on a par with Lat. *Ceres*, Assyr. *Nisaba*; cf. the precisely similar use of *Pales*, *Sumugan*, and Heb. *caštarōt haqqōn*. Sanchuniathon's explanation of the name Δαγων from *dagan*, ἐπειδὴ εὖρε σῖτον, is another artificial etymology, impossible from the Assyrian standpoint.

to act as the hero's mentor, a reflection of his buoyant ideal of life and dismal picture of death. The parallelism is so close that the complementary element found, for example in the story of David and Jonathan, or in that of Etana and the eagle, where one supplies the lacks of the other, is wanting. Gressmann has happily directed attention to the contrast between Gilgames, the exponent of civilization, and Engidu, the child of nature, who develops successively thru the stages of love for animals, for woman, and for a friend (*UG* 92 ff.). The discovery of the Babylonian text of the second tablet has confirmed Gressmann's view; after the vivid description of Engidu's initiation into the benefits and snares of civilization, and his grapple with Gilgames to free the latter from the allurements of Išhara, there can be no doubt that the thought of the gifted poet has been correctly divined. Here, however, as in the story of Joseph, we must not rate the inventive genius of ancient rhapsodists too highly, tho they were sometimes able to construct surpassingly beautiful edifices when the material lay at hand. Engidu is not, as might be fancied from the standpoint of literary analysis alone, an artificial creation of the poet; he is a figure of independent origin, related in character to Gilgames, and attracted to him under the influence of the motive of the Dioscuri; Engidu corresponds to Castor, while his companion, who remains inconsolable after the death of his 'younger brother', is Polydeuces.²⁸

The fundamental identity of Engidu with Gira-Šakan-Sumuqan is now generally recognized (cf. Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 480 f.). Their resemblance is indicated in the epic by the phrase *lubušti labiš kīma "GIR* (I, Col. 2, 38), 'he is dressed in a garment like Sumuqan,' which is naturally a euphemism for 'naked.' Both Sumuqan and Engidu are patrons and protectors of the *būl cēri*, especially of the gazelle; after death the latter descends to Hades to live with the former, who, being a god of fertility, must die.

It is impossible to reach a definite conclusion in regard to the

²⁸ The most popular conception of the heavenly twins exhibits them as the sun and moon, so it is by no means improbable that Gilgames and Engidu in this role represent the sun and moon, respectively, as suggested by Lutz. It is, at all events, clear from the present investigation that all Gilgames' astral affinities appear to be with the sun, while part, at least, of Engidu's are with the moon.

oldest name of our deity, as a result of the welter of names and the confusion of ideograms which greet us. Thureau-Dangin (*Lettres et contrats*, p. 60; *RA* 11. 103) thinks that the most ancient reading is *Gir*, but the reading *Ùg* is also possible. *CT* 12. 31, the god's name is written with the character *ANŠU*; *Sa* IV, 11 gives the value *anše* to *GIR*, a confusion due to the close resemblance in form between the signs. As the original form of *GIR*, a lion's head (Barton, No. 400), shows, our god was primarily leonine (*ùg* = *labbu*, *nêšu*, *ûmu*, 'lion'; *ûmu*, *nâru*, *Šamas*, 'light, sun'); from Sum. *gir* is derived *girru*, 'lion,' properly 'the mighty one,' like Ar. *'ásad*. The lion is, of course, a typically solar animal (see below). The vocabularies give for *GIR* the pronunciations *Šakan* (*CT* 12. 31, 38177.4), *Šakkan* (*CT* 29. 46. 9), and *Sumuqan* (*CT* 24. 32. 112), *Sumugga* (*CT* 29. 46. 8), a reading which was perhaps the most common, as it appears written phonetically *Su-mu-un-ga-an* (*SLT*, No. 13, rev. 12). *Sumugan* (Akkadian *Sumuqan*) is probably equivalent to later Sumerian *gân-sum-mu*, 'giver of fecundity'; *Šagan* (later *Šakan*, *Šakkan*, like *Makkan* for *Magan*) is an abbreviation of *Ama-šagan-gub* (*CT* 29. 46. 12), written *Ama-GAN* + *ŠA-gub* in a cylinder published by Thureau-Dangin (*RA* 11, 103 f.), a name which means 'He who assists mothers in child-birth' (*ama-gan* = *ummu álittu*; see above). *CT* 29. 46 gives as ideographic equivalents of *GIR*, *GIR-GAZI AM*, *GAN*, and *MAŠ*, all referring to his functions as patron of animal productivity.

The name *Engidu* (*CT* 18. 30. 10) is written in the Assyrian recension of *GE* *³En-ki-dú*, in the southern text *³En-ki-du(g)*; we also find the writing with a parasitic nasal *³En-ki-im-du* (*SLT* 178, n. 2). Langdon's explanation as *bêlu ša erçita* *uṭahhadu* (*dú* = *ṭahâdu*), 'Lord who fructifies the earth,' may be correct. In view, however, of *KI-DÚ* = *KI-GAL*, both pronounced *sur* (*SGL* 252) = *bêrûtu*, 'depths' (*mât bêrûtu* = *qibiru*, 'grave' = *aralû*; note that Heb. *bôr* and *šahat* = *še'ôl*), Zimmern's idea²⁹ seems preferable, and *Engidu* may be rendered 'Lord of the underworld,' like *Enki*, which almost certainly has this meaning. *Enki-Ea* and *Gira-Sumuqan* were originally related

²⁹ See *KB* 6. 1. 571 f., and *KAT* 568, n. 6. *Sur* means 'depth, source' (*asurraku* is 'ground-water, source-water' contrast *SGL* 251), 'gulch' (*barru*, *SGL* 252), and perhaps 'submerge' (*sur* = *ZAB* = *tarâru* [*AJSL* 34. 244. 91], otherwise *gigri*, loc. cit.).

figures; the latter is mentioned after *Ea-bêl-hâsîsi*, 'Ea the lord of wisdom,' in the Mattiuaza treaty.³⁰ Most interesting is the divine name *Sumugan-sigga-bar*, 'Sumuqan the wild-goat,' since it virtually identifies our deity with Ea.³¹ In an incantation over the holy water (*ASKT* 77, No. 9, 6) we read: *a sigga-bar-ra-mi*³² -*zid-dê-eš-dug-* [ga] = 'water' which by the wild goat (Ea; cf. next line: *ka-kug d'En-ki-gè na-ri-ga-ám*, 'the holy mouth of Enki is pure') is continually made soft (Akkadian very free, *mû ša ina apsî kêniš kunnû*). Engidu's own character as donor of fertilizing water to vegetation is clear from *SLT*, No. 13, rev. 13: [*En-ki*]-*im-du ab-si-im-ma e-pa-ri gi-ir-za-al* [*še-gu*]-*nu ma-a* = 'Engidu, who makes abundant (*zal* = *šutabru*, 'be sated with') the irrigating ditches and canals for the herbage, who causes the sesame (?)³³ to grow.' He also appears as a satyr, or vegetation spirit *GE* I, Col. 2, 36 f.; *ubbuš pirîtu kîma sinništi*; [*pi*] *tiq pir-išu uhtannaba kîma Nisaba* = 'he is decked with hair like a woman: the growth (lit. formation) of his hair is as luxuriant as (standing) grain.'

³⁰ *OLZ* 13, 296.

³¹ Ea is given the name *dDâr*, the divine wild-goat (ibex), *IVR* 25, 40a. and *dDâr-abzu*, 'ibex of the nether sea,' *IIR* 55, 27c, whence in the list of divine barks, K 4378, his ship is called the *gišmâ-dâr-abzu*. The *dâr-abzu* appears in art as a goat-fish, *sugur-mâš* (cf. *JAOS* 39. 71, n. 12.)

³² Delitzsch (*SGI* 146) prefers to read *gême* (*dug-ga*), but the parallel form *giš-dug-ga* does not make this necessary. The reading *mi* is proved by the gloss *mi* to *SAL* in *SAL-zid-dug* in a text published by Thureau-Dangin in *RA* 11. 144. 14. Some of the passages where our word occurs will not admit Delitzsch's rendering. Assyr. *kunnû* (cf. *KB* 6. 1. 435), from *kanû*, means properly 'fix, appoint, assign, apply' (the root *kn*, whence *kânu* and *šakânu*, means 'set, establish'), hence 'apply a name' in Ar. and Heb., 'count' in Eg. (*čny*), and in Assyr. 'make fitting, suitable, adorn, care for' (like *תְּבִיב*. Job 32, 21; this illustrates the connection between Ar. *áhaba*, 'prepare,' and Heb. *כַּבֵּשׂ*, 'love'). Eth. *mekeniјât*, 'cause, opportunity, pretext,' seems to afford a parallel to Lat. *opportunitas*, properly 'fitness.'

³³ Barton's explanation of *gu* as 'sesame' (*BA* 9. 2. 252) seems plausible; the ideogram means 'oil of heaven,' corresponding to Sem. *šamaššammu* ('sun-plant,' Haupt). Sum. *gunu* may even stand for **mušni* (the oldest form of the word, reflected by the ideogram *SE-GIS-NI*)> **muni* (like *mutin*, 'vine,' for *muštin* > *geštin*)> **munu* (by vocalic harmony)> *gunu*. An increasing number of parallels, which I am collecting, shows that such a relation between *EME-KU* and *EME-SAL*, or litanic (Haupt) forms is quite regular.

Like Tammuz, the *“Sib* (= *rē’û*),³⁴ Sumuqan is a shepherd, guardian of all animal life, wild as well as tame. *KTRI*, No. 19, obv. 2 f., Sumuqan is called *nâqidu ellu” massû ša Ani ša ina pût karši nâšû šibirra* = ‘holy shepherd, leading goat of Anu, who carries the shepherd’s staff before the flock (?).’ In 13 we hear of the *bûl Sumuqan*, his cattle, and in 15 his name is followed by *nam(m)aštê ša qî[ri”]*, ‘the beasts of the plain.’ The text is a hymn to Šamaš; in the first line we must read “*Sumuqan mâ (!)r[u] narâmka*, ‘S, the son whom thou lovest’; Sumuqan was the son of the sun. Similarly, *SLT*, No. 13, rev. 13, we find *Su-mu-un-ga-anzi-gál ši-in-ba-ar ú-ši-im-dib-a* = ‘S, who oversees living creatures and provides them with herbage.’ Accordingly, when wild animals were needed for sacrificial purposes, Sumuqan had first to be appeased, that his dire wrath over the slaughter of his creatures might be averted. In the interesting ‘scape-goat’ incantation (*ASKT*, No. 12),³⁵ Enki, after giving Marduk his commission, instructs him: *“Sumuqan dumu* *“Babbar sib-nîg-nam-ma-gè maš-dá* *“Edin-na ġu-mu-ra-ab-tum-ma*; *“Nin-ildu (IGI-LAMGA-GID)* *lamga-gal-an-na-gè illuru*³⁶ *šú-kug-dim-ma-na ġu-mu-ra-ab-tum-ma*; *maš-dá* *“Edin-na du-a* *igi-“Babbar-šù u-me-ni-gub. lugal-e - - - maš-da* *igi-“Babbar-šù* *ğe-en-sig-ga* (rev. 10 ff.) = ‘Let Sumuqan, sun of Šamaš, shepherd of everything, bring a gazelle of the desert; let Ninildu, the great artificer of heaven, bring a bow made by his pure hands; place the gazelle toward the sun. Let the king - - - shoot the gazelle, (facing) toward the sun.’ When the gazelle is shot, the sin and sickness of the king leave him and enter the beast. Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, No. 100, 25, a wild-sheep, [ša] *ibbanû ina supûri elli ina tarbaçi ša Gira* (*written Gîr-ra*) = ‘which was created in the pure enclosure, in the fold of Gira’ (i. e., in the wilderness), is presented for sacrifice.

Sumuqan is in a special sense the god of animal husbandry, the fecundity of cattle, and even their fructification being ascribed to

³⁴ Cf. Zimmern, *Tamûz (Abh. Sächs. Ges. Wiss.*, Vol. 27), p. 8.

³⁵ While it must be admitted that the *maš-ğul-dub-ba* was killed before the termination of the ceremony, the scape-goat was turned loose to be devoured by wild-beasts, which amounts to the same thing, so Prince and Langdon are justified in employing the term. For the debate between Prince and Fossey see *JA*, 1903, 133 ff.

³⁶ For reading see Langdon, *RA* 12. 74. 17, and 79, n. 7.

his agency.³⁷ Thus we read (*ibid.* 35 ff.): *anásikunúši - - - puḥáttā - - - ša azlu lâ išhítu eliša, riḥūt Sumuqan lâ imquta ana libbiša* = 'I bring you a ewe-lamb, upon which a wild-sheep has not yet leaped, into which the sperm of Sumuqan has not yet fallen.' The most important passage is *Maqlû*, 7, 23-30, hitherto misunderstood:—*šiptu: aráhika rámánî aráhika pagrî kíma Sumuqan irhû bûlšu laḥru immeṛša ḡabítu armaša atánu mûrša, narṭabu erçiti" irhû erçiti" imhuru zérša. addî šipta ana rámánî'a; lirhî rámánîma lišéçî lumnu, u kišpi ša zumrî'a lisuhû ilâni rabûti* = Incantation: I impregnate thee, myself; I impregnate thee, my body, just as Sumuqan impregnates his cattle, and the ewe (conceives) her lamb, the gazelle her fawn, the she-ass her colt, (just as) the noria³⁸ impregnates the earth, and the earth conceives her seed. I apply the incantation to myself; may it impregnate me and remove the evil; may the great gods extirpate the enchantment from my body.' In the same way we have, *PSBA* 23, 121, rev. 11, *kíma šamû irhû irçiti im'idu šammu* = 'just as heaven impregnates earth (with rain) and herbage increases.' The passage has been misunderstood also by Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 93, n. 8; *rahû* has just as concrete a meaning here as *GE* I, Col. 4, 21.

As patron of animal husbandry Sumuqan becomes the principle of virility. Hence his association with the remarkable rite of masturbation, by the ceremonial practise of which evil was expelled. We need not suppose that in Assyrian times the rite was more than symbolical; originally, however, it must have been actually performed. In Egypt one of the most popular myths represented the creator, Atum, as creating the gods in this way (cf. *Apophis-book*, 26, 24 f.; *Pyramid* 1248: 'Atum became an onanist [*iys'û*] while he was in Heliopolis. He put his phallus in his fist, in order to satisfy his lust with it [*udnf hnnf m bf'f, irf*

³⁷ To use current terminology, he is the *mana* residing in the male.

³⁸ The *šišapin* = *narṭabu* was probably a great undershot water-wheel, Ar. *nâ 'ûra*; Heb. 'ôfän, 'wheel' may be derived from *epinnu* (cf. Maynard, *AJSL* 34. 29) < *apin* (in this connection I would like to point out another Hebrew word derived from Sumerian [cf. *AJSL* 34. 209]: *môrâg*, 'threshing sledge,' is Sum. *marrag* = *narpasu*, with the same sense, as is certain from the ideogram (cf. *SGL* 175), which means 'sledge to thresh grain,' or *tribula*). The ancient Babylonians may also have employed the *čerd* (Meissner, *BA* 5. 1. 104 f.).

ndm mt imf]. The two twins, Šû and Tefêne, were born').³⁹ The Aegean peoples doubtless possessed similar ideas about the origin of life, preserved in a modified form in the hermaphrodite god of fecundity, Phanes, who, according to Suidas, was portrayed *αἰδοῖον ἔχων περὶ τὴν πυγήν*, 'penem habens iuxta nates'.⁴⁰ There is no direct trace of an onanistic theory of creation in Babylonia; the magical ceremony in *Maqlû* is evidently based on a fertility charm, not dissimilar to the many cases gathered by Frazer, Schröder, and others, where a sexual union of some kind is executed or symbolized in order to induce fertility by homeopathic magic. We may safely trace our peculiar brand of symbolic magic to pastoral customs; both in Babylonia and in Greece the practise of onanism is connected with the satyr-shepherds Sumuqan and Pan.⁴¹ A curious aetiological explanation of the custom is given by Dion Chrysostom (Roscher, III, 1397): ἔλεγε δὲ παιζων τὴν συνουσίαν ταύτην ἔρημα εἶναι τοῦ Πανός, ὅτε τῆς Ἡχοῦς ἐρασθεῖς οὐκ ἐδύνατο λαβεῖν * * * τότε οὖν τὸν Ἐρμῆν (the ithyphallic, like Eg. Min) διδάξαι αὐτόν - * * * ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ τοὺς ποιμένας χρῆσθαι μαθόντας. The story is perhaps late; the idea that Pan's *ταλαιπωρία* consequent on the escape of the elusive nymph was cured in this way is sufficiently grotesque to be ancient, but hardly naïve enough. Onanism was, of course, common among shepherds, a virile race, often deprived of female companionship, and forced to while away tedious siestas with the flocks, a necessity which gave rise to

³⁹ A similar conception is reflected in Pyr. 701: *sy'd Tt̄ - - - r 'gb̄ tp m'stf, r bn̄it im̄t b̄f'f* = 'Make Teti more flourishing (greener) than the flood of Osiris that is upon his lap (the Nile), more than the date which is in his fist' (the date, like the fig, has phallic significance). According to this extraordinary conception, the Nile arises thru the continuous masturbation of Osiris; later the grossness of the symbolism was softened by speaking merely of the efflux (*r̄dy*) of the god's body, which does not, of course, refer to the ichor of the decomposing corpse, but to the fecundizing seed. The Egyptians also fancied that the Nile was the milk of Isis (Pyr. 707, etc.). The Sumerians fancied that the silt in the rivers was caused by Innina's washing her hair in the sources (see especially ASKT, No. 21), and that the rivers were the menstrual flow from the lap of the earth-goddess (JAOS 39. 70).

⁴⁰ In art, at least, Hermaphrodite is less grotesque, resembling rather Eg. H'pi, the Nile-god.

⁴¹ Pan stands for **Παων*, connected with *pastor* and *Pales*; *Sumuqan* and *Nisaba* are employed for 'cattle,' and 'grain,' precisely like *Pales* and *Ceres*. Both Engidu and Pan are associated with springs and fountains, where their 'heart became merry, in the companionship of the beasts.'

bestiality as well (see below), as illustrated by an amusing story in Aelian, *De nat. anim.*, 6, 42.

The relation of Sumuqan to the reproduction of animals is drastically represented in archaic seal-cylinders (cf. Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, No. 197, etc., and especially the beautiful seal in De la Fuye, *Documents*, 1, plate 9), where a naked god with a long beard and other marks of virility (the heroic type) grasps a gazelle by the horns and tail in such a way that the sexual parts come into contact.⁴² The reason for the frequency of this motive on the early cylinders is not hard to find. Many, if not most of the seals in a pastoral country like early Babylonia belonged to men who had an active interest in the prosperity of the flocks and herds. Our scene belongs primarily to the category of sympathetic magic; by depicting the lord of increase in his fecundating capacity the flock would become more prolific. The origin of many similar representations on the monuments must be explained on this principle. One of the clearest cases is the scene showing two genii of fertility (Heb. *Kerûbîm*) shaking the male inflorescence over the blossoms of the female date-palm, with the winged solar disk above to bestow early maturity of fruit (cf. Von Luschan, *Die ionische Säule*, pp. 25 ff.).⁴³ The Sumuqan motive was as completely misunderstood in the process of mechanical imitation

⁴² In this connection may be mentioned two cylinders published by Toscanne, *RA* 7. 61 ff., so far unexplained. One represents a female squatting over a prostrate man, while another man seizes her wrist with his right hand, drawing a dagger with his left. The second shows a similar nude figure hovering in the air (so; contrast Toscanne) before a man, who holds a lance to ward her off. These creatures are ghouls, the Babylonian *ardât lili*; the seals, which belonged to harem officials, may have had apotropaic purpose. A commentary is provided by Langdon, *Liturgies*, No. 4, 14 ff.:

šâ-ki-âg bâr-bâr-ri-dê
 - šâ-ki-âg ur-i-ri-dê (for û-ri-ri = û-ku-ku?)
 šâ-ki-âg an-ta im-dû-dim dûb šâ (?!)
 [] kalag a-gi-dim ge-ra-ra =

'When the beloved (of the *lilit*) was stretched (in sleep),
 When the beloved lay sleeping (?),
 Upon the beloved like a storm from above coming down (?),
 [] the man like a flood verily she overwhelmed.'

⁴³ A similar motive is found on a cylinder in the collection of Dr. J. B. Nies, representing a figure stretching out his hands, from which sprouts grow, over a flock, as if in blessing.

as the palm-tree motive.⁴⁴ The phallism disappears; the gazelle even becomes bearded, and is transformed into a bull-man wrestling with the hero (contamination with the beast-combat motive). In some of the cylinders the latter seems to be protecting the gazelle from a lion which is in the act of springing upon her.

The hero in this scene is unquestionably Sumuqan-Engidu, whose association with the gazelle is familiar from the epic as well as from the passages cited above.⁴⁵ Jastrow pointed out long ago (*AJSJL* 15. 201) that Engidu, like Adam, was supposed to have had intercourse with the beasts before knowing woman. *GE* 2 describes very vividly how Engidu lived with the gazelles, protecting them from the hunter, accompanying them to the watering place, and drinking milk from their teats (*GE*, Langdon, Col. 3, 1-2). When he returned after his adventure with the courtesan to consort with the gazelles, they failed to recognize him, as his wild odor had been corrupted by the seven days' liaison with the emissary of civilization. So fixed was his semi-bestial character that he apparently follows the *mos pecudum* even with the *šamhat* (Jensen, *KB* 6. 1. 428). Of course, the above described representation is not purely symbolical in character; the idea doubtless came from current practises. The gazelle, so beautiful and graceful, and so easily tamed, was presumably employed in the ancient Orient for the same purpose as the goat in Mediterranean countries, and the llama or alpaca in Peru. An anatomical reason for the superiority of the gazelle in this respect is stated in the Talmudic tractate *Erubim*, fol. 54 b, commenting on the significant expression **אילת אהבים** *Mah Eila Rahma Zar Vhabiba* Prov. 5, 19, in the usual fashion: *על בועלה כל שעה וישעה כשעה ראשונה אף דברי תורה חביבין על לומדיין כל שעה וישעה כשעה ראשונה*. The gazelle was associated with the cult of the goddess of fecundity among the Western Semites and in Arabia; some references to the older literature are given by Wood, *JBL* 35. 242 f. At Mekka small golden images of the gazelle were worshiped.

"As a sequel to the series of illustrations given by Von Luschan, note a relief from the Parthian period, figured in Andrae, *Hatra*, II, 149, forming a sort of transition to the familiar heraldic group of the lion and unicorn, 'fighting for the crown.'

"*Sûra* 11, 59, 'There is not a beast whose forelock (*nâqîja*) he does not grasp,' might almost have referred to Sumuqan, so similar is the posture.

The West-Semitic god Rešep was a gazelle-god; a gazelle is carved on the forehead of his statuettes (Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Vol. 1, p. 33). Of special importance is the fact that the gazelle was sacred to the ithyphallic Min of Koptos, also an onanist, and presumably equally devoted to his favorites, who enjoyed the honors of mummification. The gazelles were later, in the interests of decency (?), and in accordance with ideas elsewhere, transferred to Isis (Aelian, *op. cit.* 10, 23): *σέβονται δὲ ἄρα οἱ αὐτοὶ Κοπτῖται καὶ θηλεύς δορκάδας καὶ ἐκθεούσιν αὐτάς, τοὺς δὲ ἄρρενας (naturally!) καταθίνουσιν. ἄθυρμα δὲ εἶναι τὰς θηλεύς τῆς Ἰσιδός φασιν.*

It may further be shown that our divinity was regarded in one important myth as the son of the sun-god by a gazelle. First, however, we must return to the lion-god, *Ùg* or *Gira*,⁴⁶ who represents the solar heat both in its destructive and in its fecundating aspects. Hence the god of pestilence, the lion (*KB* 6. 1. 60.3) Irra or Nergal, is associated with *Gir-ra* (*CT* 25. 50. 15), and Ninurta is compared (Radau, *BE* 29, No. 4, 1) to the lion-god who prowls in the night looking for prey (⁴*Gir-ra-dim gē-a du-du*). The lion-god is found elsewhere, especially in Asia Minor, where the Anatolian Heracles (Sandon, etc.) is represented standing on a lion (see Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*,⁴⁷ pp. 127, 139, 184). In Egypt the ferocious goddess of war and destroyer of mankind, *Šhmt*, is lion-headed. The intimate relation between Gira and Nergal (Lugalgira) appears from the fact that both are gazelles as well as lions; Nergal is called the *mašda* in the vocabularies *CT* 11. 40, K 4146. 22-23, and *CT* 12. 16b. 38-39. As a gazelle-god he is patron of productivity; his specialized aspect of lord of the underworld was developed after he had been admitted to the greater pantheon of Babylonia.

We should certainly expect to find some reflection of so popular a deity and hero as Sumuqan-Engidu in the list of post-diluvian kings, along with Tammuz, Lugalbanda, and Gilgames. Nor are we deceived; one can hardly doubt that Gira is the successor of *Qalūmu*, 'young ram,' and *Zuqâqîp*, 'scorpion,' and the predecessor of Etana, whose name is variously written *Ar-yü*, *Ar-yu-u*, and *Ar-bu-um*. The word was also used commonly as a per-

⁴⁶ Engidu is called *nimru ša gēri*, 'panther of the desert' (*GE* 10. 46). Sum. *Ùg* or *gir* seems to have denoted both 'lion' and 'panther.'

sonal name; see Chiera, *Personal Names*, Part I, p. 64, No. 275: *Ar-uu-um*,⁴⁷ *Ar-bu[-um]*, *Ar-mu-e-um* (No. 276 is the corresponding fem., *Ar-ui-tum*, *Ar-mi-tum*). We can identify our name without hesitation with Heb. 'ariē, 'lion,' Eth. *aryē*, 'beast,' Ar. *aryā*, 'ibex';⁴⁸ *aryū* stands for **aryaiu*, a form like *arnabu*, 'hare' (Ar. 'arnab), which also is a common proper name (cf. Chiera, No. 277, *Arnabitu*). Now, *Aryū* is called the son of a gazelle in *HGT*, Nos. 2 and 5. It is true that in No. 3 we have *maš-en-dá* = *muškēnu*, for *maš-dá* = *cabītu*, but this is evidently a scribal error.⁴⁹ The existence of a predecessor of Gilgames named 'Lion' appears further from *GE* 6. 51-52; rationalism has transformed the lion-god into an animal loved by Ištar, *more Paphaea*. Fecundizing demigods were often regarded as born of animal mothers; cf. *JBL* 37. 117. The father of *Aryū* was, of course, Šamaš, also the parent of the related Meskingašer and Lugalbanda, as well as of the bull-god *"GUD mār Šamaš* (Dennfeld, *Geburtsomina*, p. 37, 19). In this connection it may be noted that these three Semitic animal names all belong to the dynasty of Kiš, while the rulers of the following kingdom of Eanna are all Sumerian. This is probably due to the fact that the Sumerian legends current in northern Babylonia, which became predominantly Semitic long before the south, were early Semitized.

A most curious reflection of the cycle of Sumuqan-Engidu is found in the popular Indian story of 'Gazelle-horn' (*Rṣya-śrīga*),⁵⁰ best treated by Lüders (*Nach. Gött. Ges. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1897, pp. 87 ff.) and Von Schröder (*Mysterium und Mimus*, pp. 292-303). There are two principal recensions, Sanskrit and Pāli, both based upon a common prototype, now lost, as Lüders has shown. Schröder has adopted the dramatic theory of Hertel, and pointed out further that the representation was a mimetic fertility charm. According to the first recension,

⁴⁷ Cf. *CT* 4. 50, and 6. 42a, where the name also occurs.

⁴⁸ For the development 'ibex,' cf. Eg. *m'ḥd*, 'oryx antelope,' lit. 'white lion.'

⁴⁹ There is much confusion between *mašda*, 'gazelle,' and *mašenda* = *muškēnu*; cf. *CT* 11. 40, K 4146, 25-26, and *CT* 12. 16. 41-42.

⁵⁰ Cf. also Jensen, *ZDMG* 67, 528, who, as often, goes altogether too far in the exuberance of discovery.

Rṣyaśrīṅga is the son of a gazelle, made pregnant by drinking from water in which a holy man has bathed. He grows up to be a hermit (wild man) in the forest, associating with animals and ignorant of woman. When a drought afflicts the land, the king is informed by the Brahmins that it cannot be checked until the hermit is brought to the court. After a courtesan has seduced him from his ascetic life, rain falls. In the Buddhist *Jātaka*, Śakra (Indra) sends a three years' famine upon the land, and refuses to remove the ban until the obnoxious hermit is seduced by the king's daughter. The princess succeeds, by a familiar ruse, and Śakra is pacified. The hermit relates the experience to his father, who admonishes him, and draws him back to his ascetic career; the last is naturally a Buddhistic modification, quite foreign to the original tale. The ascetic character of 'Gazelle-horn' is on a par with the Sicilian Santa Venera (Venus), and cannot be regarded seriously. His wild character is original, as also, evidently, his intimate association with gazelles; on a relief of Amarāvatī (Lüders, p. 133) he is portrayed as a man with long braided hair, a skin over his shoulder and a girdle about his hips, in the company of three gazelles.

In the Gilgames-epic Engidu is molded by Aruru, the creatress of man; he lives in the wilderness, consorting with the gazelles, and protecting them against the hunter. The latter protests to Gilgames, who sends a courtesan to seduce the wild man, a commission which is duly executed. As seduction of the male is a very common motive in the cult-legends of Oriental gods of fertility (see *JBL* 37. 123 f.), we may safely assume that the theme was once the subject of mimetic representation in Babylonia. The form of the story which has been incorporated into *GE* is much modified to suit the new situation. Moreover, it is here associated with the motive of the creation of the first man, describing his intercourse with animals, his seduction, and the fall from primitive innocence which ensued (Jastrow, *loc. cit.*). The myth current among the worshipers of Sumuqan must have been somewhat different. In the first place, the hero is a child of the sun by a gazelle. Being a demi-god, he is not content with breaking the snares of the hunter, and filling up his pits; he sends a famine against the land. This is a motive familiar elsewhere, as in the legends of Brauron and Munichia, whose inhabitants kill a she-bear and are punished by Artemis with famine

and pestilence. Similarly, according to a legend preserved in the *Qur'ān*, God sent a supernatural camel to test the Thamūdites (7, 71 ff.; 11, 67 ff.; 26, 155 ff.; 54, 27 ff.), imposing the condition that they must share their fountain with the *nāqatu 'llāhi* alternate days. Disregarding warnings, they houghed the camel, and were destroyed by a cataclysm. Another parallel is found in Persia, if we accept Carnoy's doubtful explantion of the punishment of Mašya and Mašyōi (*JAOS* 36. 315).

We may reconstruct the myth of Sumuqan very plausibly, after making the necessary alterations in the form found in *GE*. The king sends a courtesan to seduce the god or hero of fertility; with sexual union the charm is broken, and rain returns to the land. Whether this was the exact form of the myth or not is, of course, doubtful; it is, however, evident that all the elements are here from which precisely such a tale as the *Rṣyaśrīṅga*-story may be derived in the most natural way. Jensen is certainly wrong in seeing here a direct loan from *GE*, as the gazelle-mother does not occur in the latter. But it is very probable that our story goes back eventually to a Mesopotamian origin; in no other case that I have seen is the likelihood so great. Indologists who regard all Hindu fiction as autochthonous would do well to read Gaston Paris' posthumous monograph on the origin and diffusion of the 'Treasury of Rhampsinitus' (*RHR* 55. 151 ff., 267 ff.). No doubt a few stories retold in other countries originated in the prolific climate of Babylonia.

The conceptions of Sumuqan hitherto considered exhibit him as a lion, like Nergal, a wild-goat, like Ea, a gazelle, like Nergal, Rešep, and Min. Besides these three animal incarnations, we have a fourth, the ass, as appears from the vocabulary *CT* 12. 31, 38177, 4-5, where ^d*ANŠU* has the pronunciation *Šakan* (see above). That this datum is not due to graphic corruption with *GIR* is perfectly evident from the context, which is devoted to ass-names. Moreover, the ^d*ANŠU* appears in early proper names.

Ass-worship did not, so far as we know now, attain much importance in any Mediterranean country except Anatolia, where we find the Phrygian ass-divinity Silenus, reflected in the legendary Midas, whose person, despite its mythical robe, is a reminiscence of a historical dynasty of Phrygian kings (Mita of Muške). Another ass-god was Priapus, whose cult centered in

Lydia and Mysia (Lampsacus), to whom the ass was sacrificed, and who in some myths was the son of an ass (Roscher, III, 2970). In Egypt, from the Hyksos period on, Set (Štš, Šth) of Avaris was worshiped as lord of Asia under the form of an ass (εἴω,) which led to the Egypto-Hellenistic libels regarding the worship of Iahô as an ass in Jerusalem. The beast of Set was originally perhaps an ant-bear (Schweinfurth), at all events not an ass, so we may ascribe the identification of the no longer recognized figure with the ass to Hyksos (i. e. Anatolian) influence.⁵¹ The association of the ass with fecundity might be illustrated by a mass of evidence, mythological, pornographic, and philological. The quasi-divine nature of the ass appears from Juvenal's statement (6, 334) that prominent Roman matrons consorted with the animal at the orgies of the 'Bona Dea.' That bestiality of this sort was practised elsewhere is clear from Apuleius, *Met.*, 10, 22, and Lucian's Λούκιος ἡ ὄνος, which draws freely from Syro-Anatolian tales and customs.

As might be expected, the fecundizing sun was symbolized as an ass, and ☽ was, accordingly, one of the solar names in the Egyptian litany (*PSBA* 15. 225). Solar eclipses were fancied to be caused by a huge serpent (*hju*), which swallowed the ass of heaven, a catastrophe depicted most vividly in the vignettes accompanying the text of the *Book of the Dead* (*ibid.* pl. 13, facing p. 219).⁵²

We have also direct evidence that the ass-god Šakan was identified with the moon in the name ⁴EN-ZU-⁴ANŠU = Sin-Šakan, 'Sakan is the moon.'⁵³ The only other clear lunar ass with

⁵¹ Cf. also Müller, *OLZ* 16. 433-6. Schiffer's Marsyas theory (cf. *OLZ* 16. 232) is untenable; while an ass-god may well have been worshiped in Damascus, the Assyrian name *Ša imêrêšu*, '(City) of asses,' refers to the extensive caravan trade of the latter (Haupt, *ZDMG* 69, 168-172). Another *ālu ša imêrê*, in the Zagros, is mentioned among the conquests of the Elamite king *Silbak-in-Šušinak* (*RT* 33. 213. 14).

⁵² The Egyptians also believed in an obscene ass-demon; cf. Möller, *Sitz. Berl. Akad.*, 1910, p. 945.

⁵³ Pinches, *PSBA* 39, Pl. 10, rev. 37. The suggestion (*ibid.* p. 94) that 'Šakan - - - would seem to be a parallel to the Hebrew Shekinah, and - - - comes from the same root' would probably be rejected by the author now. Even this is superior to the views expressed by Ball, *PSBA* 32. 64-72, where among other gems we find the idea that *Šekem ben Hamôr* is *Šakan mâr imêri*.

which I am acquainted is the Iranian three-legged Khara (i. e. 'ass,' mod. *har*), standing in the cosmic sea Vourukaša, related both to the three-fold moon (cf. Siecke, *Hermes*, pp. 67 ff.) and to the three-legged Priapus,⁵⁴ whose phallic nature shows transparently thru the metonymy. The motive was familiar to the Indo-Iranians, as appears from the three-legged Indian Kubera (cf. Hopkins, *JAOS* 33. 56, n. 1).

Finally I will call attention to some curious parallels between Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Indo-Iranian mythology, suggested by the equation Sin = Šakan. Blackman, in a valuable article, *JEA* 3, 235-249, has proved that one of the writings of the name of the moon-god *Hnsu*, 'the wanderer,' represents him as the royal placenta, *hi-nišut*, *hnsu*, a conception paralleled among the Baganda. The real meaning of the idea has been cleared up by Van der Leeuw's happy suggestion (*JEA* 5. 64) that, since the Pharaoh was the incarnation of the sun-god Rē, his astral placenta, in which his *k'* was embodied, was the moon, often considered by the Egyptians as the *k'* of the sun. The moon's shape is such that it might easily be compared to a placental cake, or a womb, as was commonly done in Babylonia. In the great hymn to Sin (IVR 9), the moon is called (line 24) : *ama-gan-nigin-na mulu ši-ma-al-la-da* (so *SGL* 223) *ki-dur-mağ ne-in-ri* 'Mother (Sem. *rîmu*, 'womb') who bears all life, who together with living creatures dwells in an exalted habitation.' The idea that the moon is the womb whence all life springs is most natural; does not the *roscida luna* exhibit a monthly failing and dimming corresponding often exactly to the menstrual period? Hence, by a most natural development under the influence of the life-index motive, the moon becomes the index of human life,⁵⁵ and especially of the permanence of the reigning dynasty; an eclipse foretokened disaster to the state. These conceptions may easily be illustrated from the inscriptions. *CT* 16. 21. 184 f. we have : *lugal-e dumu-dingir-ra-na ud-sar ^dSi-na-dim zi-kalam-ma šu-dū* = 'The king, son of his god, who like the crescent moon holds the life of the land.' The principle that the mutations of the moon are an index to the health and prosperity of men could hardly be stated more clearly. The moon

⁵⁴ See Theocritus, *Ep.* 4, 2-3, σύκινον ἀρτιγλυφὲς ξύλονος, τρισκελές.

⁵⁵ I hope to discuss this Babylonian conception elsewhere.

is the index of the dynasty in the text of Agum II, Col. 8, 3 ff.; “*Sin “Nannar šamē zēr šarrūti ana ūmē rūgūti liddiš* = ‘May Sin, divine luminary of heaven, renew the royal seed to distant days,’ i. e., may the dynasty renew itself spontaneously like the moon (Vedic *tanūnapāt*, ‘self-created’), which is called (IVR. 9. 22) *gi-rim nī-ba mu-un-dīm-ma*, ‘fruit which thru itself is created.’”⁵⁶ To appreciate the intimate relationship between the Babylonian and the Egyptian conceptions it must be remembered that the placenta and navel-string are among the most primitive of life-indices; see Hartland, in Hastings’ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 8, p. 45 a.

A further striking parallel to these conceptions is found in Indo-Iranian mythology. The lunar genius Narāśaṇsa- Nairyoṣaṇha (Neryosang) is called ‘the king-navel’ (cf. Gray, *ARW* 3. 45-49), properly ‘the royal navel-string’ (the umbilical cord often takes the place of the placenta in folklore). After Hillebrandt’s treatment of Narāśaṇsa (*Vedische Mythologie*, II, pp. 98 ff.), his lunar character is certain; in the Rg-veda, 3. 29. 11, he is called ‘son of his own body, the heavenly embryo’ (or ‘womb,’ *garbho āsuro*); his title *gnāspati*, ‘lord of women,’ reflects the widespread popular view that female life varies with the moon. The *Bündahiṣṇ*, Ch. 15, tells us that Neryosang received two-thirds of Gayomart’s semen for preservation; elsewhere we learn that the seed of the primeval bull was kept in the moon, whence, therefore, the race of animals sprang, just as the moon was the father of Apis in Egyptian mythology (cf. *JAOS* 39. 87, n. 42). I am not competent to decide whether Carnoy is justified in combining the motives of Gaya and the bull, thus deriving the seed of man from the moon (*JAOS* 36. 314). At all events the theory is good Indo-European, as is the association of the placenta with the moon; cf. ‘Mondkalb,’ referring to a false conception (*Kalb* connected with *garbha*, δελφύς, ‘womb’), but originally, perhaps, to the placenta.

In concluding this paper, I wish to repeat, with emphasis, the remarks made *JAOS* 39. 90, regarding the vital importance of combining the philological and comparative mythological

⁵⁶ Note ideogram for *Zirru* (*SGI* 225), ‘priest of Sin,’ *EN-NUNUZ-ZI*, literally ‘priest of the constant offspring (of heaven)’. Sum. *nunus* means also ‘egg’; the moon might easily be called ‘egg of heaven.’

methods in the study of cuneiform religious literature. Surely it is no longer necessary to stress the unique significance of the latter for the solution of comparative religious problems.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ In the year that has elapsed between the preparation of the paper and the correction of the proofs, much new material has become available some of which should be mentioned.

The Sumerians had a special word for 'life-index,' for so I would interpret *izkīm-tila*, lit. 'sign, index of life,' rendered inadequately in Babylonian by *tukultu*, 'support,' and *çiptu*, 'pledge.' Sometimes the king is the *izkīm-tila* of the god (especially Šamaš), and at times the god is the *izkīm-tila* of the king, respectively as the soul of the god was thought to reside in the king, or the soul of the king in the god. For passages cf. *SGI* 28 and Zimmern, *König Lipit-İstar's Vergöttlichung*, p. 25.

In a Neo-Babylonian text published by Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 16. 145. 8-9, Lugal-gīr-ra is identified with Sin, Gilgames with Meslamtaea and Nergal of the underworld. As pointed out above, Lugal-gīra is identical with Gira-Šakan, so our association of Engidu-Šakan with the moon is confirmed. In the same way, as Thureau-Dangin observes (p. 149), Gilgames 'est ainsi nettement caractérisé comme dieu solaire.'

Schroeder, *MVAG* 21. 180 f., shows that the reading Lugalbanda is gratuitous, and that we must read Lugalmarda, or Lugalmarada, identified in his vocabulary with Ninurta. As late as the second century A. D. Ninmarada seems to have been worshiped under the name of Nimrod by the Aramaean population of Hatra (*OLZ* 23. 37). Kraeling's suggestion En-marad, quoted by Prince in his article *JAOS* 40. 201-203, is nearly correct; Prince suggests that the name stands for Sum. *ning-ḥ'ud* = *nin-ğud*, 'brilliant hunter.'

NOTES ON THE DIVYĀVADĀNA

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1. *On the practice of giving animals intoxicating drink.*

THE SAINT Svāgata is delegated by the Buddha to convert the murderous Nāga (serpent) Aśvatirthika. In this he succeeds so well as to compel thereby the admiration of the Brahman Ahituṇḍika, who has previously fled from fear of that Nāga to the city of Śrāvasti. This brings the Svāgata story, Divyāvadāna xiii, to p. 188, line 12. At that point the story goes on to say that King Prasenajit Kāuśala takes Ahituṇḍika into his employ, with the words: *sa* (sc. Ahituṇḍika) *rājñā Prasenajitā Kāuśalena hastimadhyasyopari viśvāsikah sthāpitah*. Naturally the vocabulary to the Divyāvadāna marks the word *hastimadhyā* with an interrogation mark. A later suggestion in the notes on p. 706, 'does this mean, "he was set over ten billions of ele-fants!"', does not invalidate that interrogation mark. Ten bil-lions—the Lexicons rather give ten thousand billions for *madhya*—is a pretty large order even for a Buddhist text. But it is necessary to fit this word *madhya* into the sequel of the story, to wit: Emend *madhya* to *madya*, 'intoxicating liquor.' The pas-sage above means: 'He (namely, Ahituṇḍika) was placed in charge of the ele-fants' liquor.' In the sequel Ahituṇḍika, now liquor trustee, in order to show his appreciation of Svāgata's saintly power, invites him to dinner in Śrāvasti. Svāgata accepts the invitation, comes to Śrāvasti, and is entertained by Ahituṇḍika with a full meal. At the close Ahituṇḍika becomes anxious about Svāgata's digestion (p. 190, l. 3): *āryena Svāgatena prāṇīta āhāraḥ paribhukto no jarayiṣyati*. He decides to give him water to promote the digestive processes; Svāgata accepts it. Then on p. 190, line 7 the following statement is made: *tena* (sc. *Ahituṇḍikena*) *pānakam sajjikṛtya hastimadād aṅgulih prākṣiptū*. Read, on account of the non-existing combination *pra + ā + kṣip*, instead of *prākṣiptā*, *prāk kṣiptā*: 'While preparing the drink Ahituṇḍika's finger was thrust forth from the ele-fants' liquor.' Cf., on p. 82, l. 21, the parallel expression, *aṅgulih patitā*. The implication is, that one of Ahituṇḍika's

ingers, wet with the elefants' booze, got into the water about to be drunk by Svāgata (*Svāgatena tat pānakam pītam*). That the Arhat should do this is ascribed to carelessness: *asaman-vāhrtyārhatān jñānadarśanām na pravartate*, 'When Saints are careless they lose the sight of knowledge.'

Svāgata takes leave from his host with thanks, and walks in a street of Śrāvasti, covered with mats (in his honor, we may assume).¹ He gets a touch of the sun, and shaken by the booze falls to the ground: *sa tām* (sc. *vithīm*) *atikrānta ātāpēna prsthō* (so the mss.: read *prsthō*²) *madyakṣiptah prthivyām nīpatitah*. The story in the mouth of the Buddha is an extreme plea for monks' total abstinence: *tasmān na bhikṣunā madyam pātavyam dātavyam vā*, 'a monk shall neither drink nor give to drink intoxicating liquor.' And later again (p. 191, l. 2 ff.) more explicitly, as applying to the present case: *mām bho bhikṣavah sāstāram uddiṣyādbhir* (text, incorrectly, *uddiṣyādbhir*) *madyam apeyam adeyam antataḥ kuśāgrenāpi*, 'With me, the Teacher, as authority, O ye Mōnks, liquor with water shall not be drunk or given (to drink), even with the tip of a blade of grass!'—Svāgata, we may assure the reader, is properly cared for; the Buddha himself conjures by magic over Svāgata a hut made of leaves of the *suparṇa* tree, lest any one seeing him in that state become disaffected from the teaching of the Blessed One.

The practice of giving strong drink to animals, in order to make them mettlesome, is sufficiently attested. In the present-day story (*paccuppanna-vatthu*) of the Cullahaṇa Jātaka (533), Devadatta, hater of the Buddha, and ever gunning for him (unsuccessfully, of course), has personally made sundry attempts on the Buddha's life.³ Foiled, he exclaims, 'Verily no mortal beholding the excellent beauty of 'Gotama's person dare approach him. But the King's elefant, Nālāgiri, is a fierce and savage animal, who knows nothing of the virtues of the Buddha,

¹ Or, perhaps rather in honor of the Buddha, who happens at that time to be in Śrāvasti.

² Perhaps the editors are right in suggesting *prsthē sprsthō*, changed by a sort of haplography to *prs(the sprs)to*. But the word *prsthē*, 'on the back,' is pretty certainly not required; this is shown by p. 6, third line from bottom: *sūryānśubhīḥ sprṣṭā ātāpitah*.

³ An echo of this story in Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. iii, p. 306.

the Law, and the Assembly. He will bring about the destruction of the ascetic.' So he goes and tells the matter to the King. The King readily falls in with the suggestion, summons his elefant-keeper, and thus addresses him, 'Sir, to-morrow you are to make Nälägiri mad with drink, and at break of day let him loose in the street where the ascetic Gotama walks.' Devadatta asks the keeper how much rum the elefant is wont to drink on ordinary days, and when he answers, 'Eight pots,' he says, 'Tomorrow give him sixteen pots to drink, and send him on the street frequented by the ascetic Gotama.' But the Buddha converts, yea, even the rum-mad elefant. Nälägiri, on hearing the voice of the Master, opens his eyes, beholds the glorious form of the Blessed One, and, by the power of the Buddha, the intoxicating effects of the strong drink pass off. Dropping his trunk and shaking his ears he falls at the feet of the Tathägata.⁴ Then the Master addresses him, 'Nälägiri, you are a brute-elefant; I am the Buddha-elefant. Henceforth be not fierce and savage, nor a slayer of men, but cultivate thoughts of charity.' The elefant becomes good, being henceforth known as Dhanapälaka (Keeper of Treasure), established in the five moral laws.

Mettlesome horses also were given strong drink, either to inspirit them, or to restore them after great fatigue. In Välodaka Jätaka (183) such horses returning from battle are given (fermented) grape-juice to drink; this they take without getting intoxicated. But the fermented leavings of the grapes are strained with water and given to donkeys, who then romp about the palace yard, braying loudly. The Bodhisat, the King's adviser, draws the moral, applicable to this day :

'This sorry draught, the goodness all strained out,
Drives all those asses in a drunken rout:
The thorobreds, that drank the potent juice,
Stand silent, nor skip capering about.'⁵

Animals also intoxicate themselves without knowing that they do: cats, with fermented liquor, in Kumbha Jätaka (512); a jackal, in Sigälä Jätaka (113); a pair of crows, in Käka Jätaka (146). All come to grief. A delicious bit of satire, extant in a modern version, tells in Gūthapāna Jätaka (227) how a drunken beetle

⁴ Cf. the conversion of the elefant Marubhüti in Pärśvanätha Caritra 1. 815ff.

⁵ Rouse's Translation of The Jätaka, vol. ii, p. 66.

comes to grief:⁶ Citizens of the kingdoms of Aṅga and Magadha, traveling, used to stay in a house on the confines of the two kingdoms, there drink liquor, and eat the flesh of fishes. A certain dung-beetle, led by the odor of the dung, comes there, sees some of the liquor shed upon the ground, and for thirst drinks it, and returns to his lump of dung, intoxicated. When he climbs upon it the moist dung gives way a little. ‘The world cannot bear my weight!’ he exclaims. At that very instant a maddened elefant comes to the spot, and smelling the dung retreats in disgust. The beetle sees it. ‘Yon creature,’ he thinks, ‘is afraid of me, and see how he runs away! I must fight with him!’ So he challenges him:

‘Well matched! for we are heroes both: here let us issue try:
Turn back, turn back, friend Elefant! Why would you fear
and fly;
Let Magadha and Aṅga see how great our bravery!’

The elefant listens, turns back, and replies:

‘I would not use my foot nor hand, nor would my teeth I soil;
With dung, him whose sole care is dung, it behooveth me to
spoil!’

And so dropping a great piece of dung upon him, and making water, he kills him there and then, and scampers into the forest, trumpeting.

The modern instance is of a mouse which happens upon drippings from a whiskey-barrel, drinks its fill, and becomes a bit squiffy; then places itself astride on the barrel, and exclaims: ‘Now come on with your blankety cat!’ Nothing is new under the sun, but the old story is in a deeper vein of humor.

2. *On certain standing epithets of Buddhist Arhats.*

As one of the many repeated or stenciled passages characteristic of the text of the Avadānas there occurs in *Divyāvadāna* six times, or perhaps more, a passage which describes the state of mind of him who has attained to highest monkhood or Arhatship. The published text has not in all places the same form, and some of its words need explaining. On p. 97, *vācāvasāne Bhagavato* *mundāḥ samvṛttāḥ trāidhātukavītarāgāḥ samaloṣṭakāñcanā ākāś-*

⁶ Closely following Rouse's picturesque rendering in the Cambridge Translation, vol. ii, p. 148.

apāññitalasamacittā vāśīcandanakalpā *vidyāvidāritāñḍakośāvidyā* *vijñāh*¹ *pratisamvitprāptāh* etc. In the remaining passages where the same state of mind is predicated of a single Arhat (*arhan-samvṛttāh* etc.), namely pp. 180, 240, 282, 488, 492, most of the words remain essentially the same, but there are also the following variations:

p. 180, *vidyāvidāritāñḍakośo* *vidyābhijñāh* *pratisamvitprāptāh*,

p. 240, *avidyāvidāritāñḍakośo*² *vidyābhijñāpratisamvitprāptāh*,

pp. 282, 488, 492, *vidyāvidāritāñḍakośo* *vidyābhijñāpratisamvitprāptāh*.

After proper correction there remains the plural form, p. 97, *vidyāvidāritāñḍakośā* *vidyābhijñāpratisamvitprāptāh*; the singular form, *vidyāvidāritāñḍakośo* *vidyābhijñāpratisamvitprāptāh*.

The same cliché occurs frequently in *Avadānaśataka*, Speyer's text, vol. i, pp. 96, l. 6; 104, l. 7; 207, l. 12; vol. ii, p. 129, etc. The editor seems to have been in doubt, for a time at least, as to the correct reading of one of the words; he is finally mistaken as to another. The printed text of *Avadānaśataka* has on p. 96, l. 7: *samaloṣṭakāñcana* *ākāśapāññitalasamacitto* *vāśīcandanakalpo* *vidyāvidāritāñḍakośo* *vidyābhijñāpratisamvitprāpto* etc. On p. 104, l. 7 there is *vāśī candanakalpo*; but on p. 207, l. 12 *vāśīcandanakalpo* (so the Editor's final, correct decision, Additions and Corrections, p. 208; and Index, p. 234, under *vāśīcandanakalpa*). As regards *vidyāvidāritāñḍakośo* the editor, on p. lxxiii, note 127, argues in favor of *°kalpo* *'vidyāvidāritāñḍakośo*, a construction which has also occurred to the Editors of the *Divyāvadāna*, p. 240, l. 24, but which, be it noted, does not tally with the plural version on p. 97, stated above. Against grammar, Speyer would construe *avidyāvidāritāñḍakośa* as meaning 'whose egg-shell of ignorance has been cleft,' but the correctly construed *vidyāvidāritāñḍakośa* yields about the same result, 'the egg-shell (of whose existence in ignorance, *avidyā* implied) is cleft by knowledge.' 'Imprisonment within the egg-shell of life thru nescience' is the point under either construction. See *Divyāvadāna*, p. 203:

¹ Corrected in the Errata to *°kośā* *vidyāvijñāh*.

² The a at the beginning of this extract represents the *avagraha* of the editors.

tulyam atulyam ca sambhavam bhavasamkāram apotsrjan munih,
adhyātmarataḥ samāhito hy abhinat kośam ivāṇḍasambhavah.

According to the Editors of the *Divyāvadāna*, in a note on p. 706, the Pāli of the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* (3. 10) reads for pāda d, *abhida kavacam iv' attasambhavam*, 'he cleft, as tho a coat of mail, his own existence's cause' (by means of his *vidyā* as a Muni or Arhat).

The remaining descriptions of Arhat condition seem not quite clear to the Editors and Translators of the two *Avadāna* texts. Feer, on p. 14 of his translation of *Avadānaśataka*,⁹ translates, once for all, the passage from *samaloṣṭakāñcana* to *vidyābhijñā-pratisamvitprāpto* as follows: 'l'or fut à ses yeux de la rouillé, la vòute céleste comme le creux de la main. Il était froid comme le sandal; la science avait déchiré les ténèbres qui l'enveloppaient, la possession claire et distinete des connaissances supérieures de la science lui était acquise.' Some help or correction may be gained from a metrical parafrase of this Arhat-*cliché* in stanza 327 of the metrical text, *Avadānamālā*, nr. 91, published by Speyer in the Preface to his Edition of the *Avadānaśataka*, p. lxxiii:

suvitārāgah samaloṣṭahemā ākāśacitto ghanasāravāsi,
bhindann avidyādrim ivāṇḍakośam prāpad abhijñāḥ pratisam-
vidaś ca.

As regards *samaloṣṭakāñcana*, or *samaloṣṭaheman*, 'he who regards gold and a lump of dirt as of equal value,' see Böhtlingk's Lexicon. This is the *yogi samaloṣṭāśmakāñcana* of *Bhagavadgītā* 6. 8; 14. 24; or the *paramahaṇsa samaloṣṭāś-*
makāñcanaḥ of *Āśrama-Up.* 4, showing the continuity between the *Saṁnyāsin* of the *Upaniṣads* and the Buddhist Arhat. It is, as it were, put into practice at the end of *Mūgapakkha Jātaka* (538) by, *bhaṇḍāgāresu kahāpāne assamapade vālukā katvā vikiriñsu*, 'money in the treasures, being counted as mere sand, was scattered about in the hermitage.' Feer's rendering of *loṣṭa* by 'rust,' tho recorded in native lexicografy, strains needlessly to conform to the biblical idea.

The compound *ākāśapāṇitalasamacitta* seems to mean, 'he in

whose mind the palm of his hand is like ether,' i. e. 'he for whom the plainest reality is no better than the most ethereal substance.' The palm of the hand is the most real thing: 'When one cannot in darkness discern the palm of one's own hand, then one is guided by sound,' Bṛhad-Āranyaka Upaniṣad 4. 3. 5. Ether is subtle, invisible, and touches upon 'emptiness,' 'nothingness': *yac chuṣirām tad ākāśam*, 'ākāśa is hollow,' Garbha-Up. 1. In Amṛtabindu-Up. 11 ākāśa sūnya means 'empty space.' In the Avadānamālā passage (Speyer, p. lxxiii, stanza 327) ākāśacitta seems to mean, 'he whose mind is (empty like) ether.'

As regards *vāśicandanakalpa*, Feer reads merely *candanakalpa* which accounts for his, 'il était froid comme le sandal.' The Editors of the *Divyāvadāna* leave the word unexplained; Speyer, l. c., note 126, remarks that *ghanasāravāsi* in the *Avadānamālā* answers to the enigmatical epithet *vāśicandanakalpa*. The latter compound means, 'he for whom the (cooling) sandal is not different from a (painful) sword.' In Bhavabhūti's *Mālatimādhavam*, act X, stanza 10 (p. 257 of M. R. Telang's edition, Bombay, 1892), the same antithesis is used to express the quick succession of good and evil in man's fate:

*kim ayam asipattracandanarasacchaṭāsārayugapadavapātah,
analasphuliṅgakalitah kim ayam anabhrā sudhāvarsah.*

'Is it that sharp-edged swords and drops of sandal
In the same shower commingle?
Is it that sparks of fire and streams of nectar
Descend together from unclouded skies?'

Sandal is the Hindu beau-ideal of a cooling substance; it cures fever. The pain of a sword is conceived as burning, in absolute antithesis. In the pretty story of Pūrṇaka, *Divyāvadāna* pp. 30ff., a man carrying wood cast up by the ocean comes along trembling with cold. Pūrṇaka investigates the wood, finds it to be sandal, recognizes its cooling property, buys it, and cures with it the fever of the King of Sūrpāraka. The streets of the city of Sudarśana are sprinkled with sandal-water, to make them cool, as well as fragrant, *Divyāvadāna* p. 221, l. 5. The yet more curious *ghanasāravāsi* of the *Avadānamālā* seems to be a nominative from a stem *ghanasāravāsin*, perhaps in the sense of 'regarding camfor as a sword.' The Hindus ate camfor as a sort of sweetmeat, as is stated in the proverb, Böhtingk's *Indische*

Sprüche, nr. 6921: *dantapālah katham na syād atikarpūrabhak-*
sanāt, 'the teeth of him that eats too much camfor are sure to fall
 out;' cf. Pet. Lex. s. *vs. karpūra* and *karpūranālikā*.

3. *On some correspondences between Buddhist Sanskrit and Jāina Sanskrit.*

Amidst the countless Pāliisms or back-formations from Pāli in the Buddhist Avadāna texts none are more interesting than those which occur also in Jāina Sanskrit, a language which in its turn is tainted by the literary and religious Prākrits (Māhārāṣṭri and Jāina Prākrit), familiarly used by the Jāinas. Thus both Avadāna Sanskrit and Jāina Sanskrit have a 'root' *vikurv* (*vi* + *kurv*), 'to perform magic or miracles.' In the Avadānas this 'Sanskrit' root is a back-formation of Pāli *vikubb* (*vikubbana*, 'miracle'). Thus *Divyāvadāna* 269, line 7, *prayānti . . . divāukaso nirikṣitum* *Sākyamuner vikurvitatam*, 'the gods proceed to examine Sākyamuni's miracle.' On p. 403, l. 21 *vikurvate* occurs in the sense of 'play pranks with': *Kunālo . . . pitrā sārdham vikurvate*. In *Avadānaśataka*, vol. I, p. 258, l. 9, *vikurvita* is again 'miracle', and in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* occur the abstract nouns *vikurvā* and *vikurvaṇa* (Pāli *vikubbana*): pp. 446, 456, 472 of Kern and Nanjio's edition; note especially the tautological compound *vikurvaṇa-prātihārya*, 'magic miracle,' on p. 456, and the succession *bodhisattva-vikurvayā . . . bodhisattva-prātihāryeṇa* on p. 472. The noun *vikurvaṇa* occurs also in *Lalitavistara* (ed. Lefmann), p. 422, l. 9; see also *Mahāvastu* (ed. Senart), vol. i, p. 425.

In Jāina Sanskrit *vikurv* appears to be an independent retrograde formation of Prākrit *viuvvai*, *viuvvāē* (past participle *viuvviya*; gerund *viuvviūṇa*); see Pischel, Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen, §508. The verb is particularly common in Pārśvanātha Caritra, in the sense of 'produce by magic': 1. 601; 2. 352, 411; 5. 101; 6. 1129; 8. 384. Thus, 1. 601, *vikurvya mahatīm silām*, 'having produced by magic a big rock;' 2. 352, *vikurvya siñharūpam*, 'having assumed magically the form of a lion.' Further examples may be seen in my *Life of Pārśvanātha*, p. 222, where this Prākritism figures as one of a fairly extended list of the same sort. The 'root' *vikurv* I remember to have seen also in Rāuhiṇeya Carita.

In *Divyāvadāna* occur eight times apparent derivatives from a causative *dhmāpayati*, in the sense of 'cause to burn,' 'consign

to flames.' The word is restricted to descriptions of cremation. Speyer, *Avadānaśataka*, vol. ii, p. 209, has corrected these readings to derivatives from *dhyāpayati*, retrograde Sanskrit from Pāli *jhāpeti*, 'consign to fire,' primary *jhāyati*, 'burn' (Childers), from root *jhāi* = the Sanskrit root *kṣāi*, 'burn.' On p. 350, l. 19, the *Divyāvadāna* mss., as a matter of fact, read *dhyāpitah*, and Skt. Buddhist (Mahāyāna) texts handle the root *dhyāi*, 'burn,' quite familiarly (*Avadānaśataka*, *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistara*, etc.; see Speyer, l. c.).

The analog of this in Jāina Sanskrit is a root *vidhyāi* (*vi* + *dhyāi*) which is in the same way = Pāli-Prākrit root *vi-jhāi*, in the opposite sense to *dhyāi*, namely, 'go out,' 'become extinguished.' I have not met with simple *dhyāi* in Jāina Sanskrit texts, but it may be there. Derivatives from *vi* + *dhyāi* are especially frequent in Pārvanātha Caritra and Samarādityasamikṣepa. The instances from these texts are gathered in my *Life of Pārvanātha*, pp. 220, 221 (where other references); they include primary and causative verbs (*vidhyāpaya-*), as well as noun derivatives (*vidhyāpana*).

The question arises whether these identical retrograde forms grew up independently, from Pāli on the one side, from Prākrit on the other. This is, of course, possible, but I should like to point out that Pārvanātha Caritra and Samarādityasamikṣepa are the Jāina replicas of Avadāna texts, both treating 'of the fruits of action or moral law of mundane existence' (*karmaploti*, *karmapāka*, *karmavipāka*); see Speyer, *Avadānaśataka*, vol. ii, Preface, p. i.^{9a}

^{9a} This parallelism between Buddhist and Jāina Avadāna texts is brought out by Sālibhadra Carita 2. 1: *tena dānāvadānena pṛinīto dharmabhūpatih, yam prasādam adāt tasmāi tasya līlāyitum stumah*. The word *dānāvadāna* here refers to the wonderful result (comm.: *avadānam atyadbhutam karma*) in a second birth of a self-sacrificing gift of food by a young shepherd, Samgama, to an ascetic who arrived at his village to break a month's fast. In the second birth the soul of Samgama, reborn as Sālibhadra, attains to Arhatship. This is described in terms parallel to the Buddhist Avadāna clichés discussed in the preceding section (2) of this paper. See Sālibhadra Carita 7. 94, where Sālibhadra is described as *samatāsindhu, somasajjanadurjana, and vāśicandanakalpa*, 'ocean of equanimity', 'he who regards good and evil men alike', and 'he for whom the (cooling) sandal is not different from a (painful) sword.' It is hardly likely that such parallelism is entirely spontaneous. Note that *vāśicandanakalpa* is not quotable from Brahmanical sources, whence the Jāinas might have derived it.

4. *On the meaning of āsvāpana.*

On p. 526, lines 23, 25, occurs the otherwise unquoted *āsvāpanam*, which the Editors translate by 'sleep.' It means 'sleeping-charm': *aparena samayena rājñah sāntahpurasyāsvāpanam dattvā*, 'on another occasion she gave to the King and his zenana a sleeping-charm.' Similarly (l. 25) *mayā Siñhakesariṇo rājñah sāntahpurasyāsvāpanam dattam*. The word is identical in meaning with *avasvāpanikā*, *Parisiṣṭaparvan* 2. 173; *avasvāpinī*, *Rāuhineya Carita* 14; and both *avasvāpinī* and *avasvāpanikā* in *Pārśvanātha Caritra* 5. 85, 113. See my *Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārśvanātha*, p. 233. It is rather remarkable that finite verb forms of neither *ā + svap* nor *ava + svap* are quotable.

5. *On different authorship of the individual avadānas.*

The Avadānas of the present collection are on the whole written in the same style, which betrays itself by its luxurious breadth; by repeated idioms and expressions; by longer recurring passages, or *clichés*;¹⁰ and, of course, by the grammatical habits common to the Pāliizing Avadāna language. Yet there is sufficient evidence that they are not from the same original source. Even in their final redaction, controlled as it is by similar didactic aims and the conventions of this type, distinctions between Avadāna and Avadāna are not wanting. The Editors, p. vii, note, point to the flowery style of xxii and xxxviii. The thirty-third Avadāna does not run true to form in subject-matter and style. Avadānas xvii and xviii differ from the rest in the use of transitional particles which continue the thread of the story.

In this regard all are very lavish. It is not necessary to say, pp. 223, l. 14; 233, l. 10, *paścāt te saṃlakṣayanti*; or *yatas te saṃlakṣayanti*, 'then they reflect,' because the text, innumerable times, gets along with *sa saṃlakṣayati*, 'he reflects,' e. g., three times on p. 4. The most common particles of continuance are *atha* and *tatah*, swelling from these light words to cumbrous expressions like *tatah paścāt*, twice on p. 11; *athāpareṇa samayena*, pp. 23, l. 11; 62, l. 20; 319, l. 22; *tena khalu samayena*, pp. 32, l. 14; 36, l. 16; 44, l. 8; 318, l. 5; 320, l. 9, 19; 321, l. 1.

Among these particles of continuation two are formed upon relative pronoun stems, namely, *yāvat* and *yatah*, in the sense,

¹⁰ See Feer, *Avadāna-Sataka*, pp. 2ff.

perhaps, of 'whereupon,' as compared with *atha* or *tatah*, in the sense of 'then.' The use of *yāvat* is favored thru the collection as a whole. The use of *yatah* belongs to Avadānas xvii and xviii. In looking thru Avadānas i, ii, iii, xiii, xix, xxii, xxiii, and xxviii, I have found *yatah* a single time in iii, p. 61, l. 23; in Avadāna xviii I have counted *yatah* 71 times; in that part of Avadāna xvii which deals with the story of Māndhātar, pp. 210-226, *yatah* occurs 26 times. This great predilection for *yatah* reaches a sort of climax in the formulaic passage, *yato bhikṣavah saṁśaya-jātāḥ sarvasaṁśayacchettāraṇi Buddhami Bhagavantamī pṛcchanti*, in xviii, p. 233, l. 17; 241, l. 17. The same formula occurs often without any introductory particle (*bhikṣavah saṁśaya-jātāḥ* etc.): e. g. p. 191, l. 5. Both Avadānas show, in addition, a marked liking for *paścāt*, as an apparent synonym of *yatah*. In Avadāna xviii *paścāt* occurs 15 times; in Avadāna xvii, 11 times (once, p. 214, l. 7, *yatah paścād* together). And this latter feature individualizes also Avadāna i, where *paścāt* occurs 5. 9; 6. 16; and *tatah paścāt*, 9. 21, 25; 11. 10, 14; 16. 5; 23. 9. On the other hand the long Avadāna ii does not show a single case of *paścāt*. Clearly, the distribution of these particles will furnish a criterion by which to determine partly the stratification of the collection.

The story of Māndhātar (with pun on his name: *mām dhātar*, 'Me-sucker,' 'Thumb-sucker') begins in Mahābhārata 3. 126; 7. 62; and enters Buddhist literature with Mandhātu Jātaka (258), continuing in Milindapañho 4. 8. 25; Dhammapada Commentary 14. 5; Divyāvadāna xvii; and in the Tibetan version, Schiefner, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, October 1877 = Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 1ff. The Divyāvadāna version, as well as the Tibetan version, is a closely corresponding copy of a Mahāyāna original which we do not possess. We cannot therefore tell whether the *yatah* in this story is derived from this source. Avadāna xviii, according to the Editors, repeats, with some variations, Nr. 89 of Kṣemendra's Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā (in course of publication in Bibl. Ind.); see Feer, l. c. p. xxviii; Speyer, *Avadānaśatāka*, vol. ii, pp. v and xi.

6. *Running comments.*

In *WZKM* 16. 103ff., 340ff. (Vienna, 1902) the late Professor Speyer, who afterwards (1906, 1909) gave us an excellent edition

of the *Avadānaśataka*, published a series of text emendations, translations, and comments upon the *Divyāvadāna*, as edited by Cowell and Neil in 1886. His remarks are in general very much to the point, tho not entirely free from error, as when he emends *uddiṣyadbhir* on p. 191, l. 3, to *uddiṣya bhavadbhir*, instead of *uddiṣyādbhir* (*madyam apeyam*), see above, p. 337. I add here a modest aftermath of comments, some of which will occasionally correct Speyer, as he corrected the Cambridge edition. Others concern points which have escaped his vigilant eye. I am sure that successive readers will find yet more; indeed, without disparagement of the Cambridge scholars, a new edition, based upon better mss. and a wider knowledge of *Mahāyāna* language and literature, more particularly *Avadāna* literature, will in time be required.

P. 4, l. 22. *Koṭikarna*, starting on a mercantile expedition, is instructed by his father to stay in the middle of his caravan, because there, as he reasons plausibly, is safety from robbers. And he concludes with the words: *na ca te sārthavāhe hatah sārtho vaktavyah*. Speyer, l. c., p. 107, regards this bit of text as corrupt and nonsensical. The Editors seem also to have been puzzled, since they mark the word *sārthavāhe* with 'Sic MSS.' Speyer proposes a radical emendation, to wit: *na ca te sārthike-bhyah so 'rtho vaktavyah*, 'but you must not tell it to the merchants (viz. that you will take your place in the centre, and why).' Speyer seems to have in mind that such conduct would lay *Koṭikarna* open to the suspicion of cowardice, a thing which the rather garrulous text does not say. Perhaps we may transpose the two similar words *sārthavāhe* and *sārtho*, reading, *na ca te sārthe hatah sārthavāho vaktavyah*, 'And in thy caravan a slain leader shall not be spoken about.' Which is euphemistic for, 'It shall not happen that you, the leader of your caravan, shall come to grief.' The expression is very close to what in ordinary Sanskrit would be: *na ca te sārthe hatah sārthavāha iti vaktavyam*, 'In thy caravan it shall not be said: "The leader of the caravan has been slain."'

On p. 7, l. 1, the word *pithitah*, 'covered,' 'closed,' for which the Editors would read *pihitah* (so on p. 554, last line but one), must be allowed to stand. It not only occurs in *Lalitavistara* (see Bö. Lex. s. v. *pithay*), but also in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, Kern and Nanjo's edition, p. 260: *tisṛṇām durgatīnām dvāram*

pithitam bhaviṣyati, narakatiryagyonyamalokopapattiṣu nu patiṣyati, 'The door to three misfortunes will have been shut; he will not fall into the fate of hell-inhabitant, animal, or world of Yama.' Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, pp. 123 bottom, 254 top, rightly explains it as a Hyper-Sanskritism, on the analogy of *tathā*: Prākrit *tahā* (but not Pāli).

Speyer, l. c., p. 112, argues plausibly that *sukhapratibuddhah* on p. 115, l. 25 be changed to *suptapratibuddhah*, because the latter wording occurs in the same Avadāna, p. 113, l. 17. He may be right, yet there is no compelling reason why the author should not modulate his thought to this extent. The notion of 'blissful sleep' is familiar from Upaniṣad to Pārśvanātha Caritra: e.g., Kāṭh. Up. 1. 11; Praśna Up. 4. 1. In Brahma Up. 1 *susupta* is the designation of one that has enjoyed blissful sleep; Devadatta in that state enters into bliss like a wishless child: *yathā kumāro niṣkāma ānandam upayāti, tathāivāiṣa devadattah svapna ānandam upayāti*. The terms *sukhasvapna* (Pārśvanātha 2. 972), *sukhasupti*, *sukhasuptikā*, and *sukhasupta* are familiar. In our text, p. 115, l. 25, *sukhapratibuddhah* is preceded by *pramuditamanāḥ*. The hero of the story has been having a very pleasant dream indeed: a divinity has promised him in succession the blandishments of four Apsarases, eight Kinnara maidens, and then again sixteen and thirty-two of the same sort. Under these circumstances *pramuditamanāḥ sukhapratibuddhah* is pretty good sense and Sanskrit.

On p. 132, l. 14 a certain householder, when a famine is impending, asks his treasurer: *bhoh puruṣa bhaviṣyati me saparivārāṇāṁ dvādaśa varṣāṇi bhaktam*. This must mean, 'I say, Sir, will there be for me and my retinue food for twelve years?' All mss. have *saparivārāṇāṁ* which the Editors properly mark with 'sic.' The many solecisms of the ms. tradition should, perhaps, not stand in the way of changing the form to *saparivārasya*. Correctly the singular, *rājā sāntahpuraparivārah*, on p. 526, l. 27; or, several times on p. 488, *Mahāpanthakah pañcaśataparivārah*. Still the collective singular may be here, by curious idiom, swelled into the plural, in accordance with its intrinsic meaning.

On p. 153, l. 14 the text reads: *yasya (sc. Cūḍasya) tāvad vayāṁ śiṣyapratiśiṣyakayāpi na tulyāḥ*. Read *śiṣyapratiśiṣyata-yāpi*, 'Whose like we are not in quality of being pupil, and pupil of a pupil.' Cunda's spiritual descent is described in l. 5, as fol-

lows: *śramaṇasya Gāutamaśya Śāriputro nāma śiṣyas tasya Cundo nāma śrāmanerakah*. A pupil of Śāriputra and no less than a 'grand-pupil' of the Buddha is fitly described as above. On p. 249, l. 4 Speyer, l. c., p. 125, emends plausibly *praveśakāni* to *praveśitāni*. Conversely *t* for *k* on p. 573, l. 22, where Speyer's emendation (l. c., p. 361) of *avatariṣyati* to *avakariṣyati* is surely correct. And again on p. 84, l. 15, according to Speyer, p. 111, *akṛtапunyakāḥ* for meaningless *akṛtапunyatāḥ*. Obviously *k* and *t* are readily confused in Nepalese mss.

A number of times the text has the form *śaknosi* or *śaknosi*, 'thou art able,' which is to be emended to *śakto 'si*, particularly because there is no form *śaknosi*. On p. 207, l. 6, the printed text has *śaknosi*, but the mss. read *śaknosi*; on pp. 129, l. 2; 279, l. 23; 536, ll. 6, 23 the edition itself as well as the mss. have *śaknosi*. On p. 304, l. 2, the edition has *śakto 'si* with three mss., but a fourth again has *śaknosi*. This shaky tradition, taken by itself, is best made stable by adopting *śakto 'si*; this is supported by the first person *śaktāham* (feminine) on p. 612, l. 3. All forms, of course, with the infinitive. In the Nepalese ms. of the seventeenth century, the ultimate source of the more modern copies used by the Editors, *t* and *n*, particularly in consonant combinations, must have been much alike, judging from the formula *mūlanikṛnta iva drumah* (thus mss.), for the Editors' correct *mūlanikṛtta iva drumah*, 'like an uprooted tree,' e. g. p. 387, l. 6; p. 400, l. 17.¹¹ The suspicious form *nāpini* for *nāpiti*, 'female barber,' on p. 370, ll. 1, 3, is probably due to the same confusion. Conversely *t* takes the place of *n* in *satta°* for *santa°*, p. 291, l. 8.

When a Buddha steps within a city gate to perform a miracle, a long list of wonderful and portentous things happen. Two passages describe these miracles, pp. 250, lines 22 ff., and 364, lines 27 ff. The longer of these passages, which are two recensions of one another, contains among other things the statement: *mūḍhā garbhīṇinām strīnām garbhā anulomibhavanti*, 'mislocated foetuses of pregnant women right themselves';¹² both versions con-

¹¹ So. also *Avadānaśataka* i, p. 3, l. 16 (and often); cf. *nikṛntitamūlam*, *Divyāv.*, p. 537, l. 14, and *mūlanikṛntita iva drumah*, p. 539, l. 5, which show the participle in another, but correct way.

¹² This refers perhaps to the common *Avadāna* cliché about the birth of children, e. g., *Divyāv.* i, etc.; *Avadānaś.* iii, etc. (cf. Feer, l. c., p. 4, nr. 11.)

tain the frase *hadinigadabaddha*, 'bound by fetters and chains,'¹³ which recurs essentially in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, pp. 440, 450. For *hastināḥ kroñcanti*, 'elefants trumpet,' on p. 251, l. 2, we have correctly on p. 365, l. 7, *hastināḥ krośanti*. For *pedākṛtā alāñkārā madhuraśabdān niścārayanti* on p. 251, l. 4 we have more correctly on p. 365, l. 8, *pedāgatā alāñkārā madhuraśabdām niścārayanti*, 'jewels in their caskets (*pedāgatāḥ*) emit a sweet sound.' The word *pedā* which is translated by the Editors doubtfully by 'basket' is not otherwise quoted in the Lexicons: it recurs in *Avadānaśataka*, vol. ii, p. 12, l. 13, being the fairly common Prākrit *pedā*, 'box;' see the *Agaladatta* (*Agadadatta*) stories in Jacobi's *Māhārāṣṭri Tales*, pp. 67, ll. 34, 36, 39; 75, l. 1. Cf. Skt. *bhūṣāna-peṭikā* 'jewel-casket,' and *kośa-peṭaka* 'treasure-chest.'

On p. 299, ll. 10ff. the mss. have the following text: *evam aparam aparam te āyuṣmatā Mahāmāudgalyāyanena samyag avavāditāḥ* (one ms. *avavoditāḥ*; one ms. *avabodhitāḥ*) *samyag anuśiṣṭāḥ*, 'Thus again and again they were taught perfectly, instructed perfectly by the illustrious Mahāmāudgalyāyana.' The same text with *avoditāḥ* for *avavāditāḥ* on p. 300, l. 2. Speyer, l. c., p. 128, argues plausibly in favor of *avoditāḥ* as the only correct grammatical form. Yet in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* 4, p. 101, l. 3ff. the printed text reads: *tato bhagavann asmābhīr apy anye bodhisattvā avavāditā abhūvann uttarāyām samyaksam-bodhāv anuśiṣṭāś ca*. So also the Pet. Lex., citing this passage. This form the Cambridge Editors obviously had in mind when they marked with an exclamation mark the form *avoditāḥ*, on p. 300. Since *ava* and *o* are practically one and the same in a Pāliizing Sanskrit text, it would seem that the total of tradition inclines to *avavāditāḥ*, which is probably felt, Hyper-Sanskritically, to be the correct way of speaking.

On p. 302, l. 26, *nayena kāmaṅgamah* is improved by Speyer, l. c., p. 129 to *na yena kāmaṅgamah*, 'not allowed to go where one likes.' Read *na yena kāmaṅgamah*, which was probably Speyer's intention.

I doubt whether Speyer, l. c., p. 343, is right in questioning the Editors' text on p. 338, l. 17: *tatrāika ṛṣīḥ saśukladharmah*,

¹³ Precisely the second passage reads (with ms. vars.), *hadinigadacārakā-vabaddhānām*.

where he would divide *sa śukladharmah*. In a Pāliizing Sanskrit text *saśukladharmah* as positive to *aśukladharmah* is no more strange than is *sakubbato*, as positive to *akubbato*, in *Dhammapada*. Prākritizing Jāina Sanskrit texts do the same; e. g. *sa-jñāna*, 'knowledge,' positive to *a-jñāna*, 'ignorance.' So Prākrit *sa-vilakka*, 'embarrassed,' in Jacobi, *Māhārāṣṭri Tales* 17. 3; *sa-sambhanta*, 'terrified,' ib. 7. 34; *sa-sankiya*, 'suspicious,' ib. 67. 30; 68. 15; *sa-siniddha*, 'friendly,' ib. 22. 19. In *Divyāvadāna* 43. 28 *sa-kṛtakarapuṭa*, 'with folded hands;' on 82. 16, *sa-rujjārta*, 'tortured by disease;' and several times, 152. 3, 158. 19, 637. 25, *sa-brahmacārin*, 'chaste.' The positive *sa* carries with it a certain emphasis.

On p. 372, l. 10, Prince Aśoka, having been sent by his father, King *Vindusāra*, to besiege the city of *Takṣaśilā*, is received peacefully by its citizens, and shown every honor: *mahatā ca satkārena Taksasīlām praveśita evam vistarenāśokah svaśarājyam praveśitah*. Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, p. 362, note 2, suggests doubtfully *khaśarājyam* for *svaśarājyam*, but this does not suit. Read (with haplography) *svavaśarājyam*, 'And having been introduced into *Takṣaśilā* he thus at length entered upon the supreme authority (of a Cakravartin).' In the sequel this is just what happens, namely, Aśoka starts his empire in *Takṣaśilā*, gradually extends it, establishes his 84 edicts, becomes a just emperor under the *sobriquet* *Dharmāśoka*, 'Aśoka of the Law.' *Svavaśarājya* is identical with *svāvaśya*, 'supreme rule,' which figures in *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* 8. 17, 18, 19 by the side of the similar words, *svārājya*, *pārameṣṭhya*, and *māhārājya*. The text of the *Divyāvadāna* is not exempt from such peccadilloes; see, e. g. *adhva(ga)gāṇa*, 'crowd of travellers,' pp. 126, l. 2; 148, l. 14; 182, l. 7; see Index, under *adhvagāṇa*, and Speyer, l. c., p. 114, who points out the unutilated reading in *Avadānaśataka*, nr. 19. On p. 279, l. 12, *śradhātac* is also haplographic for *śraddadhatce*, 'he believes,' an easier correction than *śraddhatte*. The Editors, curiously enough, seem to be content with *śraddhate*.

On p. 419, l. 17 the printed text has: *samudrāyām prthivyām janakāyā yadbhūyasā Bhagavacchāsane 'bhiprasannāh*. The Editors in the foot-note suggest questioningly *āsamudrāyām*, with the result, 'On the earth, to the limit of the ocean, people became the more inclined to the teaching of the Bhagavat.' This is not questionable; on p. 364, l. 9, *tasya yāvad āsamudrāyām*

śabdo visṛtah, 'the sound of that spread over (the earth) as far as the ocean.' The expression *āsamudrāyām* *prthivyām* occurs moreover on p. 381, l. 4, and it is parafrased on p. 433, l. 1, by, *samudraparyantām* *mahāprthivīm*.

On p. 500, l. 5, in the course of the Mūṣaka story, the following sentence is badly constructed: *tena tesām kalāyānām stokam dattām śītalām ca pāṇīyām pātam*. The last word needs correction, and I think that the reading of one ms., namely *pāyam*, points to *pāyitam*, 'given to drink.'

On p. 523, last line, a father tells his son who wants to go to sea on a commercial venture that this is unnecessary, because he, the father, has inexhaustible wealth: *putra tāvat prabhūtām me dhanajātam asti yadi tvām tilatāṇḍulakulatthādiparibhogena ratnāni me paribhotsyase tathāpi me bhogā na tanutvām parikṣayām paryādānām gamiṣyanti*. I had corrected the senseless *paribhotsyase* to *paribhokṣyase*, when, later on, I noticed the parallel on p. 4, l. 7: *putra tāvantām me ratnajātam asti yadi tvām tilatāṇḍulakulakulatthānyāyena ratnāni paribhokṣyase tathāpi me ratnānām parikṣayo na syāt*. In both passages the father says to the son, that no matter how much of his substance (oil and grain) he might consume he could not exhaust his (the father's) wealth. Just as *paribhokṣyase* corrects *paribhotsyase*, the word ^o*nyāyena* on p. 4, l. 7 is hardly in the picture, as judged by ^o*paribhogena* on 524, l. 1. I miss the word *ādi*, 'and so forth,' on p. 4, but the proper reading does not suggest itself.

On p. 577, l. 21ff. the text reads, *na ca tvayā mām muktvā anyakasyacid dātavyam*, 'And you must not give (the key) to any one but myself.' Here *anyakasyacid* is to be changed to *anyasya kasya cid* (haplographic); the passage recurs at the bottom of the page in the form, *na ca tvayā mām muktvānyasya na kasyacid dātavyam*, where the second *na* is, perhaps, to be thrown out.

P. 579, l. 26, in the statement, *aham āryasya Mahākātyāyanas-yopasthāpakah*, where *upasthāpaka* makes no sense, read *upasthāyaka*: 'I am Great Kātyāyanā's adjutor.' See *upasthāyakāḥ* on p. 426, l. 29, and, more particularly, *Avadānaśataka*, vol. i, p. 214, l. 6, *vayām bhagavan bhagavata upasthāyakāḥ* (see also Speyer, Index, ad. voc.). Similarly the improbable, tho not unconforming, *pāpayati*, *Divyāv.*, p. 398, l. 17, is to be changed to *pāyayati*, 'give drink.'

LITHUANIAN *KLONAS, KLUONAS* 'A PLACE WHERE
SOMETHING IS SPREAD OUT'

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LITHUANIAN *klonas* (Nesselmann) 'ein hinter den Wirtschaftsgebäuden, bes. hinter der Scheune und dem Garten gelegener Ort; dann auch die von dem Wohnhause abgelegene gebauten Wirtschaftsgebäude'. *arklius i kloną palecisti* (Nesselmann) 'die Pferde auf den Platz hinter der Scheune treiben'. *kluonas* (Geitler, *Litauische Studien*, 92) "(= *klonas*, Ness.) bedeutet auch die Tenne". *klūnas* (Bezzenberger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der litauischen Sprache*, 295) 'Tenne, Scheune'. *klūnas* (Schleicher, *Litauische Sprache*, II. 282) 'Raum hinter dem Hause nach dem Felde zu'. *kluonas* (Leskien, *Nomina*, 196, 361) 'Tenne, Scheuer'. *klónas, klūnas* (Kurschat) 'der Bleichplatz hinter der Scheune'. *klóns* (Bezzenberger, *Litauische Forschungen*, 126): *àpatinis klóns* 'der Platz unter dem Ofen', *virszújis klóns* 'die Decke auf dem Ofen'. *klónas* (Leskien, *Nomina*, 197) 'place where cattle graze'. *kluonas* (Lalis) 'barn, barnyard'.

I propose to embrace all of the above words under a *klónas, klūnas* 'a place where something is spread out' and to connect this *klónas, klūnas* with *klóju, klóti* 'to spread out'. Only one or two of these words have hitherto received etymological treatment. Leskien's *Ablaut* (379) goes no further than connecting *klūnas* (beside *klónas*) 'Bleichplatz hinter der Scheune' with Lett. *klūns* 'Estrich'. None of the group is assigned to any root by Nesselmann or Kurschat, or by Leskien, either in his *Ablaut* or in his *Nomina*. Brückner, *Die slavischen Fremdwörter im Litauischen*, 94, considers *klonas* 'Wirtschaftsgebäude' and *kluonas* 'Tenne' Slavic loanwords: White Russian, Polish dial. *klūna* 'Scheuer', Little Russian *kluń*, *kluña*. Bezzenberger, *BB* 17. 215, relates Old Lith. *klūnas* 'Tenne, Scheune' = Samogit. *kluons*, Lett. *klōns* 'Tenne, Estrich' with Lith. *kūlti*, Lett. *kult* 'dreschen', Lett. *kuls* 'Tenne, Estrich'. He adds that White Russian, Little Russian *kluña* 'Scheune' is perhaps borrowed from the Lith., but that *klūnas, klōns* are certainly not from

the Slavic. Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I. 522-3, derives Little Russian, White Russian *klúña* from Polish dial. *klunia* for **klónia*, which he attaches to Old Bulg. *kloño*, *kloniti* 'neigen, beugen'; the latter he is inclined to consider an iterative formation to a lost present **kli-nq*, which was conceived as **kli-n-q*, and to connect, with *Gutturalwechsel* (*k'* in *slónq*, *sloniti*), with the root *k'lei-* in Skr. *śráyati*, Gk. *κλίνω*, Goth. *hláins*, Lith. *szlējù*, *szlēti* 'anlehnen', *szlījēs* 'sich geneigt habend, schief', etc. Of the Polish dial. *klunia* for **klónia* Berneker says, "Entlehnung aus lit. *kluonas* 'Tenne, Scheuer'; *klōnas* bei Kurschat 'Bleichplatz hinter der Scheune'; le. *klüns* 'Estrich' erklärt die Form nicht; gegen Bezzenger *BB* 17. 215". Finally, Brugmann, *Grundriss*², II. 1. 259, points, with a single line, in the right direction, "Lit. *klónas* 'Bleichplatz hinter der Scheune', zu *klō-ti* 'hinbreiten'".

The basic idea of *klónas*, *klūnas* (on uncertainty and confusion between *ü* and *o* in the Lith. dialects see, among others, Leskien, *Ablaut*, 378) is that of a place where something is spread out, e. g. the bleaching place near the house or barn, the small pasture in the same location, the threshing floor, barn floor (and then, by synecdoche, barn), barn yard, the space above or under the stove. Formally, *klónas* bears exactly the same relation to *klóju*, *klóti* that Old Lith. *planas* (i. e. *plonas*) 'Tenne' bears to *plóju*, *plóti* 'breitschlagen' and that *stónas* 'Stand' bears to *stóju*, *stóti* 'treten, stehen'. The IE. belongings of *klóju*, *klóti* are clear: Lett. *kláju*, *klát* 'hinbreiten, breit hinlegen'; Old Bulg. *kladq*, *klasti* 'laden, legen'; Goth. *af-hlaþan* 'überbürden'; OHG. *hlandan* 'laden'. Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*², II. 3. 368; Berneker, *Slav. etym. Wb.*, I. 508.

Leskien, *Ablaut*, 376, gives only five Lith. words under the group of *klóju*, *klójau*, *klóti* 'zudecken'. The following list will extend his group and at the same time throw semasiological light upon the nouns grouped together above in the first paragraph. The words included there are not repeated here; regular compound verbs are omitted unless they are valuable semantically.

klóju, *klóti* 'decken, überdecken; den Fussboden ausdienen; das Bett, ein Nest machen; zum Dreschen anlegen' (Nesselmann); 'hinbreiten, breit hinlegen (z. B. ein Bett; Getreide auf die Tenne zum Dreschen breit hinlegen); breit bedecken' (Kurschat). *apkłodas* (Ness.) 'das Gezimmer zu einem Bau'. *apkłóju*,

apkloti 'herumlegen, bekleiden, bedecken; eine Wand bekleiden' (Ness.); 'hinbreitend (oder breitlegend, z. B. mit Brettern, Laken) etwas bedecken' (Kur.). *apklotis* fem. (Ness.) 'Deckbett'. *inklodé, iklodé* (Ness.) 'Bodenbrett eines Lastwagens'. *iszklójū, iszklótí* 'den Boden täfeln, pflastern, ausdielen' (Ness.); *stùbq dēhiais iszklótí* 'ein Zimmer mit Decken auslegen oder ausschlagen' (Kur.). *klodas* (Lalis) 'layer, bed, stratum'. *klódinu, klódinti* caus. (Kur.) 'mit etwas Breitem bedecken'. *klojimas* 'das Auslegen; das Lager, die Lage zum Dreschen; die Tenne' (Ness.); 'das Spreiten, Breitlegen; die Dreschtenne; die zum Dreschen ausgespreitete Getreidelage' (Kur.); 'spreading, covering; threshing floor, barn floor; (Eng.-Lith. Dict.) barn' (Lalis). *klojys* (Ness.) 'eine Lage zum Dreschen, das Getreide, das auf einmal auf die Dreschtenne gelegt wird'. *klóstau, klóstytí* (Kur.) 'fortgesetzt breiten, spreiten und decken'. *klotá* (Ness.) 'das Pflaster im Hause, das Ziegel- oder Fliesenpflaster'. *klotē* (Lalis) 'cover, bed cover, blanket'. *pakloda, paklodas* (Ness.) 'eine hölzerne Schlittenschiene; das Unterfutter im Kleide, unter dem Sattel, das Polster; ein Bettlaken, auch ein Umschlagelaken, in dem man Kinder auf dem Rücken trägt, und das man gegen den Regen gebraucht; auch das Säelaken, in welchem der Säemann die Saat trägt'. *paklódé* (Lalis *paklodé, pakloté*) 'Bettlaken'. *paklójū, paklótí* (Ness.) 'decken, unterbreiten; ausspreiten: Getreide zum Dreschen anlegen; hölzerne Schienen unter den Schlitten legen; das Bett machen'. *paklotis* fem. (Ness. also masc.) 'Unterbett' (Ness.); 'Streu' (Bezzenberger, *Beitr. zur Geschichte d. lit. Spr.*, 308); 'spread, bedding' (Lalis). *paklotuvé* (Ness.) 'Matratze, Polster; Filzdecke unter dem Sattel'. *prikłodas* (Ness.) 'Deckbett; Beispiel, Paradigma'. *užklodas, užkloda, užklodé* (Lalis *užkloté*; cf. *paklódé* above) (Ness.) 'Bettdecke, meistens von grober Leinwand, die über das aufgemachte Bett gebreitet wird'. *užklonis* masc. (Kur.) 'ein Grasplatz hinter dem Hause, hinter der Scheune; so ziemlich das was *klónas*'. *užklotuvé* (Ness.) 'Deckbett, Bettdecke'.

WHERE WAS SĀKADVĪPA IN THE MYTHICAL WORLD-VIEW OF INDIA?

WILLIAM FAIRFIELD WARREN
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

AN ARTICLE of rare interest on the above question, from the pen of Professor W. E. Clark of Chicago University, is presented in the October, 1919, issue of this JOURNAL. In it is given the result to date of long and wide researches. It must be confessed that the result is far from satisfying. In a single sentence we are given the largely conflicting conclusions of nine prominent Orientalists, and then the names of fourteen other scholars who, despairing of success in locating 'the illusive isle', simply assign it to 'the realm of fancy.'

The present writer cannot claim linguistic qualification to take a part in this high debate, but he has in mind a few questions, which very possibly may aid the better qualified in discovering one reason for the many failures of the past.

1. What kind of a region is this which we wish to locate?

Obviously it is a 'dvīpa', whatever that may mean, and it must be a place fitted to serve as the abode of certain finite intelligences.

2. Is it one of the notable 'seven' dvīpas which are represented as severally surrounded by one of the seven concentric seas?

Probably, for it is often so listed.

3. Which is the first, and which the last, of the seven as listed in the Purāṇas?

The first is Jambudvīpa, the last Pushkaradvīpa.

4. Where does the Vishṇu Purāṇa locate the seven?

After naming them it says, 'Jambudvīpa is the centre of all these, and the centre of Jambudvīpa is the golden mountain Meru.'

5. And what is Jambudvīpa, according to the same Purāṇa? Our Earth, 'a sphere', the abode of living men.

6. Where does the Sūrya Siddhānta locate Mount Meru? At the north pole of the Earth sphere.

7. What extra-terrestrial bodies, according to Plato and the astronomers of his time, center in our Earth and revolve about it?

Seven homocentric globes, each solid, yet so transpicuous that though we dwell inside them all, we may gaze right through the whirling seven every cloudless night and behold the vastly more distant stars unchangeably 'fixed' in or on the outermost of all the celestial spheres, the eighth. Reread the memorable cosmographical passage in Plato's Republic.

8. How were these seven invisible globes supposed to be related to the planets that we see?

The moon we see was represented as in some way made fast to the 'first' or innermost of the seven, and the movement of the visible Luna enables us to infer that one month is the time required by the invisible 'Lunar Sphere' in the making of one revolution. Of course, as every schoolboy should know, the Lunar Sphere incloses the whole Earth, shutting it in on every side. The second of the seven, far out beyond the lunar on every side, was supposed to be the Sphere of Helios, the Solar Sphere. Then at ever increasing distances revolved the concentric spheres of Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. In each case the luminary we study with the telescope is as distinct from the sphere to which it is attached as a locomotive's headlight is from the engine which bears it. Indeed, Milton calls the visible planet the 'officious lamp' of its invisible sphere. The 'Music of the Spheres', as so often explained, was supposed to result from their diverse rates of motion in revolution, and from their harmonic adjustment as to distance from each other.

9. If now in Hindu thought the seven concentric dvīpas are (or originally were) simply the concentric invisible spheres of the ancient Babylonian and Greek astronomers, and the seven concentric seas that separate them simply the intervening concentric spaces, oceanic in magnitude, what passages in the Kūrma Purāṇa are at once seen to need no further harmonizing?

The passages cited by Professor Clark in last line of note on page 218 and line following. The two 'surroundings' by one and the same sea are no more difficult of conception than is a surrounding of the spheres of Jupiter and Mars by the sphere of Saturn. So also it is now plain how Sākadvīpa can be 'north' of Meru and at the same time 'east' of it. It is both.

10. Has this view of the dvīpas and of the seven concentric seas ever been proposed?

Certainly, more than thirty years ago. See page 459 of *Paradise Found*, by W. F. Warren, Boston, 1885. Also his *Earliest Cosmologies*, New York 1909, page 91, n. *et passim*.

11. What does Professor Clark say of the distance of Śākadvīpa from the abodes of men?

'The distance was never traversed by human feet, it was travelled through the air.' Note eight, page 210.

12. When Nārada starts for Śākadvīpa, what direction does he take?

Not a northward, not an eastward, not a southward or westward; simply *upward*. He 'soars into the sky.' Page 231.

13. If he keeps on in his upward flight until he reaches the last heaven this side of Pushkaradvīpa what kind of tenants will he there find?

Beings 'white' and 'sinless.' See the description in article of Professor Clark, pages 234ff. One statement reads: 'The effulgence which is emitted by each of them resembles the splendor which the sun assumes when the time comes for the dissolution of the universe.' Unearthly to say the least.

14. What is the weight of the garments of one of these beings according to the Buddhist scriptures?

Divide one ounce into one hundred and twenty-eight parts and one of these parts will balance the garments in weight. In the ascending order of the heavens it is the last in which clothing of any kind is *en règle*.

15. Name of this heaven, next below Pushkara, in what seems to have been the orthodox Purānic list?

ŚĀKADVĪPA.

Small wonder that our results are unsatisfactory so long as we place polar Meru somewhere among the Himalayan ranges, and unremittingly scan all procurable maps of Asia for a region which is measureless miles above our heads.

BRIEF NOTES

A remark on Egyptian r 'part'

It is a well-known fact, that in Egyptian the word for mouth, *r*, has also the meaning 'part.' Difficulty, however, arises as soon as an attempt is made to explain the change of meaning. Sethe, in his brilliant monograph *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Aegyptern*, Strassburg, 1916, p. 86, takes into account a few possibilities that might have been instrumental for this change. According to him, it may have been considered a 'mouthful,' analogous to the Hebrew *yad*, which was used to express the fractions, and which as such a designator may have been thought of as a 'handful'; or else as 'part' of the body, like Greek *μέρος*, or as 'edge', 'rim' or 'side.' Apart from this use of *r* 'part' in the designation of fractions, the use of *r* 'mouth' in a metaphorical sense for 'chapter,' 'saying,' as a 'part' of a literary production is very common.

In an entirely unique way I find this word in my perusal of Erman's 'Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Graeberbildern des Alten Reiches' (*Abh. der Preus. Akad. der Wissenschaften*), Berlin, 1919. On page 18 we read that a man calls to the butcher, 'Free me from him! this steer is mighty.' The answer, which the butcher returns, concerns us here. He calls back: *ndr sw r mn̄h m r-k*. Erman renders this by 'Halt ihn ordentlich mit(?) deinem' But this sentence allows no other translation than: 'Hold him properly for thy part!' The use of the preposition *m* particularly favors this translation. The answer contains thus a slight rebuke to the man, who sits between the horns of the steer and holds him down for slaughter. The sense is thus: 'Instead of calling for my help, tend to your own part of the work well.'

H. F. LUTZ

University of Pennsylvania

Bharata's treatise on dramaturgy (Nātya-śāstra)

Some of the members of our Society will be interested to learn of certain items from letters written from Poona, India, by Professor Belvalkar. He has in hand an edition and annotated ver-

sion of this ancient and exceedingly important treatise. The items illustrate clearly some of the enormous advantages which native Indianists have over us Indianists of the Occident.

He tells me that his article upon the material available for a critical edition of this treatise (see *Sanskrit Research*, 1. 37-) has brought fruitful replies from various parts of India: 1. Report of a complete ms. of the text at Chidambaram (otherwise, Chilambaram: South Arcot, Madras, a few miles south of Cuddalore); 2. Report of the discovery in Malabar of an almost complete ms. of Abhinavagupta's commentary on the text; 3. Information as to 93 fine images painted on the inner walls of a temple of the XIII. century, illustrating the various dancing postures enumerated in chapter 4, stanzas 33 to 53 of our treatise. What is more: above each picture is a description of each posture, the description (in Grantha characters) agreeing word for word with those given in our treatise, chapter 4, stanzas 99-. The pictures enable us to understand Bharata clearly.

CHARLES R. LANMAN

Harvard University

PERSONALIA

Dr. B. LAUFER, curator of anthropology in the Field Museum of Chicago, was elected an honorary member of the Finnish Archaeological Society of Helsingfors on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of this Society on November 6, 1920, and a corresponding member of the Société des Amis de l'Art Asiatique, Hague, Holland. He was recently appointed also Honorary Curator of Chinese Antiquities in the Art Institute of Chicago.

In commemoration of the labors of Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH, of Columbia University, who attained the age of 75 years in April of this year, a 'Festschrift für Friedrich Hirth' is announced by the *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Kultur und Kunst des fernen Ostens* (Oesterheld & Co., Berlin).

The Rev. C. H. W. JOHNS, M.A., Litt.D., late Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge University, and Assyriologist, died in August.

Prof. RICHARD GOTTHEIL, of Columbia University, is attached to the University of Strasbourg for the present academic year.

Dr. HENRY SCHAEFFER has become Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Chicago.

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

In accordance with Art. V, §2, of the Constitution of the Society, the Executive Committee, thru the Corresponding Secretary, reports the following actions taken by it since the last annual meeting of the Society.

Pursuant to a vote of the Society (see Proceedings, in JOURNAL, 40. 222), the Executive Committee took under consideration the proposal contained in the report of the Committee on Co-operation with the other Oriental Societies (JOURNAL, 40. 215-216) that this Society co-operate with the other Oriental Societies in regard to planning a General Dictionary of Buddhism and issuing an appeal for aid in its preparation. The following resolution was submitted to each member of the Committee by the Secretary and was approved by four out of the five members (Professor Clay being absent from the country and unable to respond), on or before June 4, 1920.

'Whereas, the American Oriental Society, at its meeting held in Ithaca, N. Y., on April 6 and 7, 1920, referred the report of the Standing Committee on Co-operation with Other Oriental Societies to the Executive Committee with power to act upon the proposal contained in the report that this Society co-operate with the other Oriental Societies in regard to planning a General Dictionary of Buddhism and issuing an appeal for aid in its preparation :

The Executive Committee, on behalf of the American Oriental Society, hereby gives the general approval of the Society to this undertaking and authorizes its representative on the Committee for planning the Dictionary to join in signing and circulating the appeal that may be approved.'

Thereafter Professor James H. Woods, who is the representative of this Society on the joint Committee for planning the Dictionary of Buddhism, on his return from the joint meeting of Asiatic Societies held in Paris in July, 1920, submitted to the Executive Committee the subjoined 'Projet de Circulaire' with the request that this Society authorize its circulation in the same manner as the French and the British Societies had already agreed to do. This request was transmitted to each member of the Committee by the Secretary, and the issuance of the circular appeal was unanimously approved by them, on or before Sept. 28, 1920.

On Saturday, Oct. 23, a meeting of the Executive Committee was held at Columbia University, New York City, all the members being present. The minutes of actions already taken thru correspondence votes (as stated above), were unanimously ratified and approved.

A resolution, 'that the American Oriental Society extend to the Asiatic Societies of England, France, and Italy an invitation to hold a joint meeting in this country at the time of the annual meeting of the American Society in 1921, or, if it seems preferable, at some other time in that year,' was referred to the decision of the Board of Directors, in such manner as the President of the Society might direct.

The matter of the investment of any uninvested capital belonging to the Society having been referred to the Executive Committee by the Board of Directors, it was voted: 'That the investment of such part of the funds of the Society as may seem wise shall be referred to the Treasurer with power to act, after consultation with and upon the advice of the Treasurer of Yale University.'

The affairs of the Committee on Preparation of a Statement setting forth the Scope, Character, Aims, and Purposes of Oriental Studies having been referred to the Executive Committee by the Board of Directors, it was voted: 'That the President appoint a committee from among the younger members of the Society to prepare a statement setting forth the aims and the importance of Oriental Studies, such committee to report to the Executive Committee at its next meeting.'

CHARLES J. OGDEN,

Corresponding Secretary.

PROJET DE CIRCULAIRE

LA FÉDÉRATION DES SOCIÉTÉS ASIATIQUES (Amérique, Angleterre, France, Italie), a pris l'initiative d'une publication qui grouperait dans un effort commun des équipes nationales de savants orientaux et occidentaux. Elle a entrepris la préparation d'un *Dictionnaire Général du Bouddhisme* (doctrine, histoire, géographie sacrée, etc.) fondé sur un dépouillement direct des sources (sanscrit, pali, tibétain, chinois, japonais, langues de l'Indochine et de l'Asie Centrale) et élaboré par des spécialistes locaux dans chacun des pays de civilisation bouddhique, sous le contrôle d'un Comité de direction élu par les Sociétés fédérées.

Une pareille entreprise exige le concours d'un nombre considérable de travailleurs qu'il est nécessaire de retribuer, et elle comporte dès le début des frais élevés de mise en oeuvre et de matériel. Le prix de revient total,

encore impossible à préciser, atteindra des centaines de milliers de francs. Pour couvrir ces dépenses, les Sociétés Fédérées sollicitent la générosité des souscripteurs. En tant que religion, philosophie, littérature, art, le bouddhisme a joué dans le monde un rôle trop considérable pour qu'un homme cultivé puisse s'y déclarer indifférent.

Les souscriptions sont requises.

The Directors, at the Annual Meeting, authorized the Editors to undertake the preparation of an Index of Volumes 21-40 of the JOURNAL. Prof. R. K. Yerkes has kindly consented to prepare this Index, and it will appear in 1921, to be sold at cost. It will be recalled that the Index to Volumes 1-20 was prepared by Mrs. George F. Moore and appeared in Vol. 21.

The Annual Meeting of the Middle West Branch of the Society will be held at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., February 25-26. Communications for the program should be sent to the Secretary, Prof. A. T. Olmstead, 706 So. Goodwin St., Urbana, Ill.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

A. Joint Meeting of the Oriental Societies of France, Great Britain, Italy and America was held in Paris, July 6-8. The representatives of the American Society present were Drs. Clay, Gottheil, Gray and Woods. The sessions were divided into two sections, of Near Asia and Far Asia. M. Senart, President of the French Society, gave a reception on Wednesday and there was a dinner on Thursday. The following was the program:

M. R. Gottheil. Sur une nouvelle typographie orientale.

M. Goloubew. Sur l'organisation au Musée Guimet, d'un dépôt de clichés archéologiques.—Communications de MM. Pelliot et Lartigue sur leurs expéditions en Extrême-Orient. Projections.

Sir G. A. Grierson: Report on the Linguistic Survey of India.

M. Meillet: Sur le caractère des Gâthâs.

Dr. H. B. Morse: The super cargo in the China trade, circa 1700.

M. Cœdès: Les origines de la dynastie de Sukhodaya.

M. A. T. Clay: The Amorite name Jerusalem.

Dr. Cowley: A Hittite word in Hebrew.

M. Chabot: Traces de l'influence juive dans les inscriptions palmyréniennes.

Prof. St. Langdon. Sumerian Law Codes and the Semitic Code of Hammurabi.

M. Minorsky: La secte persane des Ali-Allahi.

M. Longworth Dames: The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the XVIth Century.

M. P. Pelliot: Un vocabulaire arabe-mongol et un vocabulaire sino-mongol du XIV^e siècle.

M. Archambault: Le sphinx, le dragon et la colombe, d'après les monuments de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.

M. Krenkow: The second volume of the *Kitâb al Ma'âni* of Ibn Qutaiba.

M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes: Le manuscrit d'Ibn Khaldoun des *Qaraouïn* de Fez.

M. Thureau-Dangin. Rituel du temple d'Anou à Ourouk.

M. Casanova: Un alphabet magique.

M. Cl. Huart: Un commentaire du Coran en Turc d'Asie Mineure (XV^e siècle).

M. C. D. Blagden: Résumé of Malay Studies.

M. Masson-Oursel: Sur la signification du mot *dharma* à travers l'histoire de l'Inde.

M. Mukerjee: Belvedere (an archaeological Account of a home occupied by the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal).

M. G. Ferrand: La Chine dans Ya 'kûbî.

M. Sidersky: L'astronomie et la science orientale.

M. Deny: *Futuwet nameh* et romans de chevalerie turcs.

M. Delafosse: Sur l'unité des langues négro-africaines.

M. Bourdais: L'action originelle des forces naturelles dans le premier écrit de la Genèse.

M. Danon: Sources ottomanes inédites de l'histoire des Tartares.

The second general meeting of the Palestine Oriental Society (see above, p. 76) was held in Jerusalem on May 25. The following papers were presented: Professor Clay, 'The Amorite origin of the name of Jerusalem'; Père Lagrange, 'Les noms géographiques de Palestine dans l'ancienne version des Évangiles'; Mr. Phythian-Adams, 'An early race of Palestine'; Mr. Idelson, 'A comparison of some ecclesiastical modes with traditional synagogal melodies'; Père Dhorme, 'L'assyrien au secours du livre de Job'; Dr. Albright, 'Mesopotamian influence in the temple of Solomon'; Père Decloedt, 'Note sur une monnaie de bronze de Bar Cochba'; Mr. H. E. Clark, 'The evolution of flint instruments from the early palaeolithic to the neolithic'; Mr. Ben Yehuda, 'The language of the Edomites'; Mr. Rafaeli, 'Recent coin discoveries in Palestine'; Professor Peters, 'Notes of locality in the Psalter'; Mr. J. D. Whiting, 'The Samaritan Pentateuch'; Mr. Tolkowsky, 'A new translation of *metheg ha-ammah*, 2 Sam. 8. 1'; Mr. Lind, 'Prehistoric Palestine'; Professor Worrell, 'The inter-

change of *Sin* and *Shin* in Semitic and its bearing on polarity'; Père Orfali, 'Un sanctuaire canaanéen à Siar el Ganem'; Mr. Eitan, 'Quelques racines inconnues dans le livre de Job'; Dr. Slousch, 'Nouvelle interprétation d'une inscription phénicienne'. The Society is preparing to publish its proceedings. The present membership in Palestine numbers 145.

The reorganized University of Strasbourg announces a department of the History of Religions, which will include members of both the Catholic and Protestant faculties. M. Alfaric has been appointed to the newly created chair of History of Religions. The program of lectures for this year includes general courses, and courses on the Egyptian, Semitic, and Indo-European Religions, and Christianity, primitive, mediaeval and modern.

The lectures for this winter under the auspices of the American Committee on the History of Religions are being given by Dr. Frederick J. Bliss, on the subject, The Secret Cults of Syria, covering the history and tenets of the Isma'ilis, the Nusairis and the Druses. These lectures are given at Union Seminary, University of Pennsylvania, Johns Hopkins University, Auburn Theological Seminary, Rochester Theological Seminary, Cornell University, Meadville Theological Seminary, Oberlin University, University of Chicago, and Hartford Theological Seminary.

The first volume of the ANNUAL of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem has appeared under the editorship of Prof. Charles C. Torrey. The papers, all contributed by former Directors of the School, are: 'A Phoenician Necropolis at Sidon,' by C. C. Torrey; 'The Walls of Jerusalem,' by H. G. Mitchell; 'Survivals of Primitive Religion in Modern Palestine,' by L. B. Paton; 'Gleanings in Archaeology and Epigraphy,' by W. J. Moulton. The volume is illustrated with 77 plates. It is published by the Yale University Press.

An Asiatic Society has been organized at the University of Illinois with a membership already of over forty. The purpose is expressed in the constitution as follows: (1) interest in the Asiatic peoples, their history, civilization, and present problems; (2) scientific instruction and research on Asiatic topics, including the development of the University Library and the Oriental Museum; (3) social intercourse among members on the basis of these common interests. Members are to be chosen from faculty

and both American and Asiatic students, on the basis of scholarship and interest in this development. Members returning to the Orient become corresponding members and without dues, with the hope that they will retain a permanent interest in the development of Asiatic studies at the University and in the education of their fellows. Officers have been chosen as follows: President, Professor E. B. Greene, Department of History; Vice President, A. P. Paterno, Philippines; Secretary, Professor A. T. Olmstead, Department of History; Treasurer, B. N. Bysack, India; Executive Committee, Professor David Carnahan, Dean of Foreign Students; N. Uyei, Japan; C. C. Yu, China; F. S. Rodkey, America.

The École Biblique of the Dominican Monastery in Jerusalem has been officially recognized as the French School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and will doubtless be affiliated with the proposed French School in Syria. The Pontifical Institute (Jesuit) in Rome is establishing a similar school in Jerusalem under the auspices of the Italian government.

The Department of Antiquities of the Government of Palestine has granted the following concessions for excavation: to the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Beisân; to the Jewish Archaeological Society, Tiberias and Arṭūf; to the Dominicans in Jerusalem, 'Ain Dûk, near Jericho. A group of Swedish and Finnish archaeologists are seeking a concession for Tell el-Kâdî, near Banias, in French territory.

LIST OF MEMBERS

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.
† designates members deceased during the past year.

HONORARY MEMBERS

Sir RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, C.I.E., Deccan College, Poona, India. 1887.

Prof. CHARLES CLERMONT-GANNEAU, 1 Avenue de l'Alma, Paris. 1909.

Prof. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Cotterstock, Chipstead, Surrey, England. 1907.

Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRÜCK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.

Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.

Prof. ADOLPH ERMAN, Berlin-Steglitz-Dahlem, Germany, Peter Lennéstr. 72. 1903.

Sir ARTHUR EVANS, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England. 1919.

Prof. RICHARD GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.

Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.

Prof. IGNÁZ GOLDZIHER, vii Holló-Utcza 4, Budapest, Hungary. 1906.

Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., D.Litt., I.C.S. (retired), Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Hon., 1905.

Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.

Prof. HERMANN JACOBI, University of Bonn, 59 Niebuhrstrasse, Bonn, Germany. 1909.

Prof. SYLVAIN LÉVI, Collège de France, Paris. (9 Rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, Paris, Ve.) 1917.

Prof. ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONELL, University of Oxford, England. 1918.

Prof. EDUARD MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Gross-Lichterfelde-West, Mommsenstr. 7.) 1908.

Prof. THEODOR NÜLDEKE, Karlsruhe, Germany, Ettlingerstr. 53. 1878.

†Prof. HERMANN OLDENBERG, University of Göttingen, Germany. (27/29 Nikolausberger Weg.) 1910.

Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12, W.) 1887.

Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.

Prof. V. SCHEIL, Membre de l'Institut de France, 4bis Rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris, France. 1920.

EMILE SENART, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François Ier, Paris, France. 1908.

Prof. C. SNOOK HURGRONJE, University of Leiden, Netherlands. (Witte Singel 84a.) 1914.

F. W. THOMAS, M.A., Hon. Ph.D., The Library, India Office, London S. W. 1, England. 1920.

FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. 1918.

[Total: 25]

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Names marked with * are those of life members.

Rev. Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.
 Mrs. JUSTIN E. ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1912.
 Pres. CYRUS ADLER (Dropsie College), 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
 Prof. ADOLFH ERMAN, Berlin-Steglitz-Dahlem, Germany, Peter Lennéstr.
 Dr. WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT, American School for Oriental Research, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1915.
 Dr. THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN (Univ. of Chicago), 5743 Maryland Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Dr. OSWALD T. ALLIS, 26 Alexander Hall, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
 FRANCIS C. ANSCOMBE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
 SHIGERU ARAKI, Care of S. Chujo, 21 Hayashicho, Hongoku, Tokyo, Japan. 1915.
 Prof. J. C. ARCHER (Yale Univ.), 571 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 1916.
 Prof. KANICHI ASAOKAWA, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. 1904.
 Prof. WILLIAM FREDERIC BADÈ (Pacific School of Religion), 2616 College Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 1920.
 CHARLES CHANEY BAKER, Care International Petroleum Co., Apartado 162, Tampico, Mexico. 1916.
 Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 *Dr. HUBERT BANNING, 17 East 128th St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 PHILIP LEMONT BARBOUR, Care Mrs. Geo. H. Moore, 7 West 92d St., New York, N. Y. 1917.
 Prof. LEROY CARR BARRET, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.
 Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
 Mrs. DANIEL M. BATES, 51 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1912.
 Prof. L. W. BATTEN (General Theol. Seminary), 3 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1894.
 Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH (Yale Univ.), 346 Willow St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 Miss ETHEL BEERS, 3414 South Paulina St., Chicago, Ill. 1915.
 *Dr. SHRIPAD K. BELVALKAR, Deccan College, Poona, via Bombay, India. 1914.
 Miss EFFIE BENDANN, 420 West 121st St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 Prof. HAROLD H. BENDER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1906.
 E. BEN YEHUDA, Care of Zionist Commission, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1916.
 Prof. C. THEODORE BENZE, D.D. (Mt. Airy Theol. Seminary), 7304 Boyer St., Mt. Airy, Pa. 1916.
 OSCAR BERMAN, Third, Plum & McFarland Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
 PIERRE A. BERNARD, 662 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1914.
 ISAAC W. BERNHEIM, Inter So. Bldg., Louisville, Ky. 1920.
 Prof. GEORGE R. BERRY, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.
 Prof. JULIUS A. BEWER, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.

Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
Prof. FREDERICK L. BIRD, 606 Beall Ave., Wooster, Ohio. 1917.
CARL W. BISHOP, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1917.
Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 109 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
Dr. FREDERICK J. BLISS, 1155 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN (Augustana College and Theol. Seminary), 825 35th St., Rock Island, Ill. 1900.
Prof. LEONARD BLOOMFIELD (Univ. of Illinois), 804 W. Oregon St., Urbana, Ill. 1917.
Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
PAUL F. BLOOMHARDT, 601 Cathedral St., Baltimore, Md. 1916.
Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambéry, Switzerland. 1897.
Prof. GEORGE M. BOLLING (Ohio State Univ.), 777 Franklin Ave., Columbus, Ohio. 1896.
Prof. CAMPBELL BONNER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1920.
Prof. EDWARD I. BOSWORTH (Oberlin Graduate School of Theology), 78 So. Professor St., Oberlin, Ohio. 1920.
Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
Miss EMILIE GRACE BRIGGS, 124 Third St., Lakewood, N. J. 1920.
Prof. C. A. BRODIE BROCKWELL, McGill University, Montreal, P. Q., Canada. 1920.
Rev. CHARLES D. BROKENSHIRE, Lock Box 56, Alma, Mich. 1917.
Mrs. BEATRICE ALLARD BROOKS, Wellesley, Mass. 1919.
MILTON BROOKS, 3 Clive Row, Calcutta, India. 1918.
Rev. Dr. GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN (Transylvania College), 422 Davidson Court, Lexington, Ky. 1909.
LEO M. BROWN, P. O. Box 953, Mobile, Ala. 1920.
Dr. WILLIAM NORMAN BROWN, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1916.
Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
LUDLOW S. BULL, Litchfield, Conn. 1917.
ALEXANDER II. BULLOCK, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.
Dr. E. W. BURLINGAME, 98 Chestnut St., Albany, N. Y. 1910.
Prof. JOHN M. BURNAM (Univ. of Cincinnati), 3413 Whitfield Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
CHARLES DANA BURRAGE, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1909.
Prof. ROMAIN BUTIN, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
Prof. HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1908.
Prof. MOSES BUTTENWIESER (Hebrew Union College), 257 Loraine Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
Prof. EUGENE H. BYRNE (Univ. of Wisconsin), 240 Lake Lawn Place, Madison, Wis. 1917.
Prof. HENRY J. CADBURY, 1075 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1914.

Rev. Dr. JOHN CAMPBELL, 3055 Kingsbridge Ave., New York, N. Y. 1896.
Rev. ISAAC CANNADAY, M.A., 541 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1920.
Prof. ALBERT J. CARNOY, 50 rue des Joyeuses Entrées, Louvain, Belgium. 1916.
Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
Rev. JOHN S. CHANDLER, Sunnyside, Rayapettah, Madras, Southern India. 1899.
Dr. F. D. CHESTER, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.
Dr. EDWARD CHIERA (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 1538 South Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1915.
Prof. WALTER E. CLARK, Box 222, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
Prof. ALBERT T. CLAY (Yale Univ.), 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1907.
†Prof. CAMDEN M. COBERN, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1918.
*ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN, 820 5th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1908.
ALFRED M. COHEN, 9 West 4th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
Dr. GEORGE H. COHEN, 120 Capitol Ave., Hartford, Conn. 1920.
Rabbi HENRY COHEN, D.D., 1920 Broadway, Galveston, Texas. 1920.
Rabbi SAMUEL S. COHEN, 4100 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
KENNETH COLEGROVE, 105 Harris Hall, Evanston, Ill. 1920.
*GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ (Johns Hopkins University), 1027 Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1887.
Prof. C. EVERETT CONANT, Univ. of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tenn. 1905.
Dr. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1917.
EDWIN SANFORD CRANDON, Transcript Office, Boston, Mass. 1917.
Rev. WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, Richmond, Mass. 1902.
Prof. GEORGE DAHL (Yale Univ.), 51 Avon St., New Haven, Conn. 1918.
Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
Prof. FRANK LEIGHTON DAY, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1920.
Prof. IRWIN H. DE LONG, Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa. 1916.
ROBERT E. DENGLER, 2324 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
Prof. ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1900.
Mrs. FRANCIS W. DICKINS, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.
Dr. VICCAJI DINSHAW, Mahabubnagar, Hyderabad, India. 1915.
Rev. Dr. D. STUART DODGE, 99 John St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
LOUIS A. DOLE, Urbana, Ohio. 1916.
LEON DOMINIAN, Cosmos Club, Washington, D. C. 1916.
Rev. A. T. DORF, 1635 N. Washtenaw Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1916.
Prof. RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
Rev. WALTER DRUM, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md. 1915.
Rev. WM. HASKELL DU BOSE, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1912.
Prof. F. C. DUNCALF, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.

Dr. GEORGE S. DUNCAN, 2900 7th St., N. E., Washington, D. C. 1917.
Prof. FRANKLIN EDGERTON (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 107 Bryn Mawr Ave., Lansdowne, Pa. 1910.
WILLIAM F. EDGERTON, Danby Road, Ithaca, N. Y. 1917.
Mrs. ARTHUR C. EDWARDS, 309 West 91st St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
Prof. GRANVILLE D. EDWARDS (Missouri Bible College), 811 College Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
Dr. ISRAEL I. EFROS, 146 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
Prof. FREDERICK G. C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1901.
Rabbi ISRAEL ELFENBEIN, M.A., L.H.D., 2309 Thomas St., Chicago, Ill. 1920.
ALBERT W. ELLIS, 40 Central St., Boston, Mass. 1917.
WILLIAM T. ELLIS, Swarthmore, Pa. 1912.
Dr. AARON EMBER, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1902.
Prof. HENRY LANE ENO, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1916.
Rabbi HARRY W. ETELSON, Hotel Lorraine, Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.
Prof. C. P. FAGNANI (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 W. 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1901.
†Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY (Univ. of Texas), 200 West 24th St., Austin, Texas. 1888.
Rabbi ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN, Keneseth Israel Temple, Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
Dr. JOHN F. FENLON, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
Dr. JOHN C. FEEGUSON, Peking, China. 1900.
Rabbi JOSEPH L. FINK, 540 South 6th St., Terre Haute, Ind. 1920.
Dr. HENRY C. FINKEL, District National Bank Building, Washington, D. C. 1912.
CLARENCE S. FISHER, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
Rev. Dr. HUGHELL E. W. FOSBROKE, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1917.
Prof. JAS. EVERETT FRAME (Union Theol. Seminary), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
Rabbi LEO M. FRANKLIN, M.A., 10 Edison Aye., Detroit, Mich. 1920.
Rabbi SOLOMON B. FREEHOF, 3426 Burnet Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1918.
MAURICE J. FREIBERG, First National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
SIGMUND FREY, 632 Irvington Ave., Huntington Park, Calif. 1920.
†Prof. ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 29 Hamilton Terrace, New York, N. Y. 1920.
Prof. JOHN FRYER, 2620 Durant Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1917.
Prof. LESLIE ELMER FULLER, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1916.
Prof. KEMPER FULLERTON, Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Ohio. 1916.
†Dr. WM. HENRY FURNESS, 3d, 1906 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
Dr. MAUDE H. GAECKLER, Baylor College, Belton, Texas. 1915.

Dr. CARL GAENSSLE (Concordia College), 3117 Cedar St., Milwaukee, Wis. 1917.

ALEXANDER B. GALT, 2219 California St., Washington, D. C. 1917.

Mrs. WILLIAM TUDOR GARDINER, 29 Brimmer St., Boston, Mass. 1915.

ROBERT GARRETT, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.

Rev. FRANK GAVIN, S.S.J.E., St. Francis House, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.

Dr. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN, 5720 North 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.

EUGENE A. GELLOT, 290 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1911.

Rev. F. GEORGELIN, S.M., S.T.L., Marist College, Brookland, D. C. 1916.

Miss ALICE GETTY, 75 ave. des Champs Elysées, Paris, France. 1915.

Prof. BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE (Johns Hopkins University), 1002 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1858.

DWIGHT GODDARD, Lancaster, Mass. 1920.

Rabbi S. H. GOLDENSON, Ph.D., 4905 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.

Rabbi SOLOMON GOLDMAN, 55th & Scoville Sts., Cleveland, O. 1920.

PHILIP J. GOODHART, 21 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1920.

Prof. ALEXANDER R. GORDON, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Canada. 1912.

Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.

KINGDON GOULD, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.

Prof. HERBERT HENRY GOWEN, D.D. (Univ. of Washington), 5005 22d Ave., N. E., Seattle, Wash. 1920.

Prof. ELIHU GRANT, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1907.

Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, 108 West 78th St., New York, N. Y. 1897.

Mrs. LOUIS H. GRAY, 108 West 78th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.

M. E. GREENEBAUM, 4504 Drexel Blvd., Chicago, Ill. 1920.

Prof. ROBERT F. GRIBBLE, Mercedes, Texas. 1918.

Dr. ETTALENE M. GRICE, Care of Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1915.

Miss LUCIA C. G. GRIEVE, Violet Hill Farm, Martindale Depot, N. Y. 1894.

Dr. HERVEY D. GRISWOLD, 307 Eddy St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1920.

Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1890.

Pres. W. W. GUTH, Ph.D., Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1920.

*Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 323 West 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1903.

Rev. K. K. HADDAWAY, 2504 Garrison Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1918.

Miss LUISE HAESSLER, 100 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1909.

Dr. GEORGE ELLERY HALE, Director, Mt. Wilson Observatory, Pasadena, Calif. 1920.

Dr. B. HALPER, 1903 North 33d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.

Mrs. IDA M. HANCHETT, 523 Fourth Ave., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 1912.

Prof. MAX HANDMAN, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.

Prof. W. H. P. HATCH, Cambridge Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1920.

Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 215 Longwood Road, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. 1883.

DANIEL P. HAYS, 115 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1920.
Mrs. EDWARD L. HEINSHEIMER, 3584 Alaska Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
Rabbi JAMES G. HELLER, 3634 Reading Road, Cincinnati, O. 1920.
Prof. MAXIMILIAN HELLER (Tulane Univ.), 1828 Marengo St., New Orleans, La. 1920.
EDWARD A. HENRY, Box 217, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
PHILIP S. HENRY, 1402 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D. C. 1914.
Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT, 1321 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.
Prof. WILLIAM J. HINKE (Auburn Theol. Seminary), 156 North St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
Prof. EMIL G. HIRSCH (Univ. of Chicago), 3612 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
BERNARD HIRSHBERG, 260 Todd Lane, Youngstown, Ohio. 1920.
Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH, Clemenstr. 30, München, Germany. 1903.
Dr. PHILIP K. HITTI (Columbia University), 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1915.
Rev. Dr. LEWIS HODOUS (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 9 Sumner St., Hartford, Conn. 1919.
THEODORE HOFELLER, 59 Ashland Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1920.
G. F. HOFF, 403 Union Bldg., San Diego, Calif. 1920.
Dean ALICE M. HOLMES (Colby College), Foss Hall, Waterville, Me. 1920.
*Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
SAMUEL HORCHOW, 1307 Fourth St., Portsmouth, Ohio. 1920.
Prof. STANLEY K. HORNBECK, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1917.
Prof. JACOB HOSCHANDER, 3220 Monument Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
HENRY R. HOWLAND, Natural Science Building, Buffalo, N. Y. 1907.
Dr. EDWARD H. HUME, Changsha, Hunan, China. 1909.
Prof. ROBERT ERNEST HUME (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 W. 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
*Dr. ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
†SOLOMON T. H. HURWITZ, 217 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
Prof. ISAAC HUSIK (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 408 S. 9th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
Prof. MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1901.
*JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 18 rue Adolphe Yvón, Paris, France. 1909.
Prof. WALTER WOODBURN HYDE, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 12th St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
IKBAL ALI SHAH, University Union, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1920.
Rabbi EDWARD L. ISRAEL, Springfield, Ill. 1920.
MELVIN M. ISRAEL, 50 East 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.

Prof. FREDERICK J. FOAKES JACKSON, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway & 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.

Rev. ERNEST P. JANVIER, care Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, India. 1919.

Prof. MORRIS JASTROW, JR. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.

†Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, Canton Corner, Mass. 1874.

Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.

FRANK EDWARD JOHNSON, 421 Washington St., Norwichtown, Conn. 1916.

R. F. JOHNSTON, Chang Wang Hutung, The Old Drum Tower Road, Peking, China. 1919.

FLORIN HOWARD JONES, Box 95, Coytesville, N. J. 1918.

Miss ALICE JUDSON, Green Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1920.

JULIUS KAHN, 429 Wick Ave., Youngstown, Ohio. 1920.

VAHAN H. KALENDERIAN, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1920.

Rabbi JACOB H. KAPLAN, 780 E. Ridgeway Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1918.

Rev. Dr. C. E. KEISER, Lyon Station, Pa. 1913.

Prof. MAXIMILIAN L. KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.

Prof. FREDERICK T. KELLY (Univ. of Wisconsin), 2019 Monroe St., Madison, Wis. 1917.

Pres. JAMES A. KELSO, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1915.

Prof. ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1896.

Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Yale Univ.), 415 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.

Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.

LEEDS C. KERR, 5238 Westminster Place, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1916.

I. KEYFITZ, 6044 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1920.

Prof. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE (Harvard Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.

EUGENE KLEIN, 1318 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.

Dr. K. KOHLER (Hebrew Union College), 3016 Stanton Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.

Rev. EMIL G. H. KRAELING, Ph.D. (Union Theol. Seminary), 132 Henry St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.

Rev. GEORGES S. KUKHI, Care Y. M. C. A., Davies-Bryan Bldg., Cairo, Egypt. 1917.

Rev. Dr. M. G. KYLE, 1132 Arrott St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.

HAROLD ALBERT LAMB, 7 West 92d St., New York, N. Y. 1920.

Prof. GOTTHARD LANDSTROM, Box 12, Zap, Mercer Co., N. Dak. 1917.

*Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.

Prof. KENNETH S. LATOURETTE, Denison University, Granville, Ohio. 1917.

Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.

Rabbi JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH, Ph.D., Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.

Rabbi MORRIS S. LAZARON, 1712 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1917.

D. A. LEAVITT, 44 N. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill. 1920.

T. Y. LEO, Chinese Consulate, 18 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1916.

Rabbi GERSON B. LEVI, 5000 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.

SAMUEL J. LEVINSON, 522 East 8th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.

Dr. FELIX A. LEVY, 707 Melrose St., Chicago, Ill. 1917.

Dr. H. S. LINFIELD, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.

Prof. ENNO LITTMAN, University of Bonn, Bonn, Germany. 1912.

Mrs. LEE LOEB, 53 Gilbert St., Charleston, S. C. 1920.

Prof. LINDSAY B. LONGACRE, 2272 South Filmore St., Denver, Colo. 1918.

Rev. ARNOLD LOOK, Crozier Seminary, Bradford, N. Y. 1920.

Dr. STEPHEN B. LUCE, University of Pa. Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.

Prof. DANIEL D. LUCKENBILL, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.

Dr. HENRY F. LUTZ, 4509 Springfield Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.

Prof. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER (Univ. of Illinois), 1009 W. California St., Urbana, Ill. 1917.

†BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 269 South 4th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.

Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, Harvard University Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.

ALBERT MORTON LYTHGOE, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.

Prof. CHESTER CHARLTON McCOWN, D.D. (Pacific School of Religion), 2223 Atherton St., Berkeley, Calif. 1920.

Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.

Dr. D. I. MACHT, Dep't of Pharmacology, Johns Hopkins University, Monument and Washington Sts., Baltimore, Md. 1918.

RALPH W. MACK, 3836 Reading Road, Cincinnati, O. 1920.

Rabbi EDGAR F. MAGNIN, 2187 West 16th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 1920.

Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.

WALTER A. MAIER, 70 Toptiff St., Dorchester, Mass. 1917.

Prof. HENRY MALTER (Dropsie College), 1531 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.

Rabbi LOUIS L. MANN, 575 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 1917.

Rabbi JACOB R. MARCUS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1920.

RALPH MARCUS, 531 West 124th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.

ARTHUR WILLIAM MARGET, 157 Homestead St., Roxbury, Mass. 1920.

HARRY S. MARGOLIS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1920.

Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS (Dropsie College), 152 W. Hortter St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.

Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.

Dr. JAMES P. MARSH, 1828 Fifth Ave., Troy, N. Y. 1919.

Pres. H. I. MARSHALL (Karen Theol. Seminary), Insein, Burma, India. 1920.

JOHN MARTIN, North Adams, Mass. 1917.

Prof. D. ROY MATHEWS, 1401 East 63d Place, Chicago, Ill. 1920.

†Rabbi ELI MAYER, Ph.D., Capitol Station, Box I, Albany, N. Y. 1920.
 Rev. Dr. JOHN A. MAYNARD, 175 9th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1917.
 Prof. THEOPHILE J. MEEK (Meadville Theological Seminary), 650 Arch St., Meadville, Pa. 1917.
 HENRY MEIS, 806 Walnut St., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
 Prof. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER (Western Theol. Seminary), 2738 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
 R. D. MESSAYEH, 49 East 127th St., New York, N. Y. 1919.
 Mrs. EUGENE MEYER, Seven Springs Farm, Mt. Kisco, N. Y. 1916.
 Rev. Dr. MARTIN A. MEYER, 3108 Jackson St., San Francisco, Cal. 1906.
 MYRON M. MEYEROVITZ (Hebrew Union College), 538 Rockdale Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
 Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.
 Mrs. HELEN LOVELL MILLION, Hardin College, Mexico, Mo. 1892.
 Rabbi LOUIS A. MISCHKIND, M.A., Box 725, Wheeling, W. Va. 1920.
 GEORGE TYLER MOLYNEUX, 1401 East 60th St., Chicago, Ill. 1919.
 Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
 *Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
 Dr. RILEY D. MOORE, Div. of Physical Anthropology, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1916.
 Rev. HUGH A. MORAN, 221 Eddy St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1920.
 Prof. JULIAN MORGENSEN (Hebrew Union College), 764 Greenwood Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1915.
 *EFFINGHAM B. MORRIS, "Ty'n-y-Coed," Ardmore, Pa. 1920.
 Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.
 Rev. HANS K. MOUSSA, Jefferson, Wis. 1906.
 Mrs. ALBERT H. MUNSELL, 65 Middlesex Road, Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1908.
 Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, 245 East Tremont Ave., New York, N. Y. 1887.
 Rev. Dr. THOMAS KINLOCH NELSON, Virginia Episcopal School, Lynchburg, Va. 1920.
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM M. NESBIT, 477 Main St., Orange, N. J. 1916.
 Prof. W. R. NEWBOLD, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.
 EDWARD THEODORE NEWELL, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
 Rev. Dr. JAMES B. NIES, Hotel St. George, 51 Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
 Ven. Archdeacon WILLIAM E. NIES, Union Bank, Geneva, Switzerland. 1908.
 Mrs. CHARLES F. NORTON, Transylvania College, Lexington, Ky. 1919.
 Miss RUTH NORTON, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
 Dr. WILLIAM FREDERICK NOTZ, 1727 Lamont St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1915.
 Rt. Rev. Mgr. DENNIS J. O'CONNELL, 800 Cathedral Place, Richmond, Va. 1903.
 Dr. FELIX, Freiherr von OEFELD, 326 E. 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1913.

Prof. HANNS OERTEL, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
HERBERT C. OETTINGER, 8th & Walnut Sts., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
Dr. ELLEN S. OGDEN, Hopkins Hall, Burlington, Vt. 1898.
Prof. SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1906.
Prof. ALBERT TENEYCK OLMSTEAD (Univ. of Illinois), 706 S. Goodwin St., Urbana, Ill. 1909.
Prof. PAUL OLTRAMARE (Univ. of Geneva), Ave. de Bosquets, Servette, Genève, Switzerland. 1904.
Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
ROBERT LEET PATTERSON, Sheilds, Allegheny Co., Pa. 1920.
Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
Prof. GEORGE A. PECKHAM, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. 1912.
HAROLD PEIRCE, 222 Drexel Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
Dr. JOSEPH LOUIS PERRIER (Columbia Univ.), 315 West 115th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
Dr. ARNOLD PESKIND, 2414 East 55th St., Cleveland, O. 1920.
Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
Prof. WALTER PETERSEN, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kan. 1909.
JULIUS I. PEYSER, 208 Wilkins Bldg., Washington, D. C. 1920.
ROBERT HENRY PFEIFFER, 39 Winthrop St., Cambridge, Mass. 1920.
Hon. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, Woodley, Woodley Lane, Washington, D. C. 1917.
†T. RAMAKRISHNA PILLAI, Thottakkadu House, Madras, India. 1913.
JULIAN A. POLLAK, 927 Redway Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
PAUL POPENOE, Thermal, Calif. 1914.
Prof. WILLIAM POPPER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.
Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
Dr. JULIUS J. PRICE, 94 Fairview Ave., Plainfield, N. J. 1917.
Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.
CARL E. PRITZ, 101 Union Trust Bldg., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
Rev. FRANCIS J. PURTELL, S.T.L., Overbrook Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
Dr. GEORGE PAYN QUACKENBOS, Colonial Heights, Tuckahoe, N. Y. 1904.
Rabbi MAX RAISIN, LL.D., 1093 Sterling Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
Prof. H. M. RAMSEY, Seabury Divinity School, Faribault, Minn. 1920.
Dr. JOSEPH RANSOHOFF (Univ. of Cincinnati), 7th & Race Sts., Cincinnati, O. 1920.
MARCUS RAUH, 951 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
Prof. JOHN H. RAVEN (New Brunswick Theol. Seminary), 185 College Ave., New Brunswick, N. J. 1920.
Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.

JOHN REILLY, JR., American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1918.

Rev. Dr. A. K. REISCHAUER, Meiji Gokwin, Tokyo, Japan. 1920.

Prof. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1891.

Rt. Rev. PHILIP M. RHINELANDER, Church House, 12th and Walnut Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1908.

Prof. GEORGE H. RICHARDSON, Trinity Rectory, Logansport, Ind. 1917.

ROBERT THOMAS RIDDLER, St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, Pa. 1920.

Rev. CHARLES WELLINGTON ROBINSON, Bronxville, N. Y. 1916.

Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Seminary), 2312 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1892.

Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.

HARRY L. ROSEN, 831 South 3d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.

Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.

Dr. JOSEPH G. ROSENKRANTZ, 1704 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1917.

*JULIUS ROSENWALD, Care of Sears, Roebuck and Co., Chicago, Ill. 1920.

Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 115 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.

Dr. ELBERT RUSSELL, Woolman House, Swarthmore, Pa. 1916.

Rabbi SAMUEL SALE, 4621 Westminster Place, St. Louis, Mo. 1920.

Rabbi MARCUS SALZMAN, Ph.D., 94 West Ross St., Wilkes Barré, Pa. 1920.

Rev. Dr. FRANK K. SANDERS, 25 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.

Mrs. A. H. SAUNDERS, 552 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1915.

Prof. HENRY SCHAEFER (Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 1016 South 11th Ave., Maywood, Chicago, Ill. 1916.

Dr. ISRAEL SCHAPIRO, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1914.

Dr. JOHANN F. SCHELTEMA, Care of Kerkhaven and Co., 115 Heerengracht, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

*JACOB H. SCHIFF, 52 William St., New York, N. Y. 1920.

JOHN F. SCHLICHTING, 1430 Woodhaven Blvd., Woodhaven, N. Y. 1920.

Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.

WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.

Prof. H. SCHUMACHER, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1916.

WILLIAM BACON SCOFIELD, Worcester Club, Worcester, Mass. 1919.

Prof. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1906.

Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, 49 Arthur St., Yonkers, N. Y. 1895.

Prof. JOHN A. SCOTT, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1920.

*Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (*née* Morris), 2106 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.

Dr. MOSES SEIDEL, 9-11 Montgomery St., New York, N. Y. 1917.

Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 125 Tsuchidoi-machi, Sendai, Japan. 1902.

O. R. SELLERS, Lexington, Mo. 1917.

MAX SENIOR, 21 Mitchell Bldg., Cincinnati, O. 1920.

Dr. HENRY B. SHARMAN, North Truro, Mass. 1917.

Rev. WILLIAM SHELLABEAR, 2512 Guilford Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1919.

Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theol. Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.

CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 447 Webster Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y. 1904.

GYOKSHU SHIBATA, 330 East 57th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.

Rabbi ABBA HILLEL SILVER, The Temple, East 55th St. & Central Ave., Cleveland, O. 1920.

HIRAM HILL SIPES, Rajahmundry, Godaverry District, India. 1920.

JACK H. SKIRBALL, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1920.

*JOHN R. SLATTERY, 14bis rue Montaigne, Paris, France. 1903.

Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH (Union Theol. Seminary), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1877.

Prof. JOHN M. P. SMITH, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.

Dr. LOUISE P. SMITH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1918.

Rev. JOSEPH E. SNYDER, Box 796, Fargo, N. Dak. 1916.

Prof. EDMUND D. SOPER, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1920.

ALEXANDER N. SPANAKIDIS, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.

Dr. DAVID B. SPOONER, Ass't. Director General of Archeology in India, "Benmore," Simla, Punjab, India. 1918.

Prof. MARTIN SPRENGLING, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.

Prof. WALLACE N. STEARNS, McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill. 1920.

Dr. W. STEDE, "Wynbury," Howard Road, Coulsdon, Surrey, England. 1920.

Rev. Dr. JAMES D. STEELE, 15 Grove Terrace, Passaic, N. J. 1892.

M. T. STERELNY, P. O. Box 7, Vladivostok, East Siberia. 1919.

Rabbi EMMANUEL STERNHEIM, M.S.P., 1400 Douglas St., Sioux City, Iowa. 1918.

Mrs. W. YORKE STEVENSON, 251 South 18th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.

Rev. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, D.D., Woodbridge Hall, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1900.

Rev. Dr. JOSEPH STOLZ, 4714 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.

Hon. MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.

A. J. SUNSTEIN, Farmers Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.

Prof. LEO SUPPAN (St. Louis College of Pharmacy), 2109a Russell Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1920.

Prof. GEORGE SVERDRUP, JR., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.

†Rev. HENRY SWIFT, Plymouth, Conn. 1914.

WALTER T. SWINGLE, Bureau of Plant Industry, Washington, D. C. 1916.

Prof. F. J. TEGGART, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1919.

EBEN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.

Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia Univ.), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.

Prof. HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1917.

*Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.

I. NEWTON TRAGER, 944 Marion Ave., Avondale, Cincinnati, O. 1920.

Rev. ARCHIBALD TREMAYNE, 4138 Brooklyn Ave., Seattle, Wash. 1918.

TSEH LING TSU, 1201 W. Clark St., Urbana, Ill. 1918.

DAVID ARTHUR TURNURE, 109 East 71st St., New York, N. Y. 1920.

DUDLEY TYNG, Milford, Mass. 1920.

Rev. SYDNEY N. USSHER, 44 East 76th St., New York, N. Y. 1909.

Rev. Dr. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS VANDERBURGH (Columbia Univ.), 55 Washington Sq., New York, N. Y. 1908.

ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.

Mrs. JOHN KING VAN RENSSELAER, 157 East 37th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.

Prof. ARTHUR A. VASCHALDE, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.

LUDWIG VOGELSTEIN, 61 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1920.

Miss CORNELIA WARREN, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.

Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.

Rev. SAMUEL W. WASS, 177 Soudan Ave., N. Toronto, Canada. 1917.

Prof. LEROY WATERMAN, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1912.

Prof. J. E. WERREN, 1667 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.

ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYR, 12-16 John St.; New York, N. Y. 1912.

MORRIS F. WESTHEIMER, Traction Bldg., Cincinnati, O. 1920.

MILTON C. WESTPHAL, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1920.

Pres. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.

JOHN G. WHITE, Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.

*Miss MARGARET DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.

PETER WIERNIK, 220 Henry St., New York, N. Y. 1920.

HERMAN WILE, Ellicott St. cor. Carroll St., Buffalo, N. Y. 1920.

Prof. HERBERT L. WILLETT (Univ. of Chicago), 6119 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.

Mrs. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS, The Chesbrough Dwellings, Toledo, Ohio. 1912.

Prof. CLARENCE RUSSELL WILLIAMS, St. Stephen's College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y. 1920.

Hon. E. T. WILLIAMS (Univ. of California), 1410 Scenic Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1901.

Prof. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.

Mrs. F. W. WILLIAMS, 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1918.

Prof. TALCOTT WILLIAMS, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.

Prof. CURT PAUL WIMMER, Columbia University, College of Pharmacy, 115 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.

HERBERT E. WINLOCK, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1919.

Rev. Dr. WILLIAM COPLEY WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.

Rev. Dr. STEPHEN S. WISE, 23 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.

Prof. JOHN E. WISHART, 6834 Washington Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1911.

HENRY B. WITTON, 290 Hess St., South, Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.

Prof. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON (Univ. of Wisconsin), 1113 W. Dayton St., Madison, Wis. 1904.

Dr. HENRY A. WOLFSON, 35 Divinity Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
HOWLAND WOOD, Curator, American Numismatic Society, Broadway & 156th
St., New York, N. Y. 1919.
Prof. IRVING F. WOOD, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1905.
Prof. WILLIAM H. WOOD (Dartmouth College), 23 North Main St., Hanover,
N. H. 1917.
Prof. JAMES H. WOODS (Harvard Univ.), 179 Brattle St., Cambridge,
Mass. 1900.
Prof. WILLIAM H. WORRELL (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 133 Whitney
St., Hartford, Conn. 1910.
Prof. JESSE ERWIN WRENCH (Univ. of Missouri), 1104 Hudson Ave., Colum-
bia, Mo. 1917.
Rev. Dr. ROYDEN K. YERKES (Philadelphia Divinity School), Box 247,
Merion, Pa. 1916.
Dr. S. C. YLVISAKER, Luther College, Decorah, Ia. 1913.
Rev. Dr. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
1894.
LOUIS GABRIEL ZELSON, 427 Titan St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
Rev. ROBERT ZIMMERMAN, S. J., St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road,
Bombay, India. 1911.
JOSEPH SOLOMON ZUCKERBAUM (Mizrachi Teachers' Institute), 2 West
111th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
Rev. Dr. SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, Cairo, Egypt. 1920.

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